SUPPLÉMENT
AUX ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

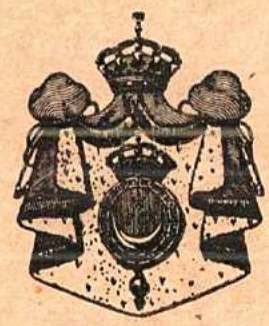
CAHIER N° 18

SLAVERY IN PHARAONIC EGYPT

BY

ABD EL-MOHSEN BAKIR

B. LITT., D. PHIL. (*OXON*)



LE CAIRE
IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE
MCMLII

SLAVERY
IN PHARAONIC EGYPT

SUPPLÉMENT
AUX ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

CAHIER N° 18

SLAVERY IN PHARAONIC EGYPT

BY

ABD EL-MOHSEN BAKIR

B. LITT., D. PHIL. (*OXON*)

SORBONNE
CENTRE D'ÉTUDES ÉGYPTOLOGIQUES
Inv. N° 610

LE CAIRE
IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE
MCMLII

The present work constitutes my Thesis for the D. Phil. from Oxford University which was submitted in June, 4th 1946—the acceptance of which obtained for me the degree. This Thesis was examined by A. M. Blackman and S. R. K. Glanville.

PREFACE

I had to leave Oxford and return to Egypt at a time when my B. Litt. Thesis was still incomplete, and therefore missed the able guidance of the Late Professor Battiscombe Gunn and the scholarly atmosphere of Oxford. In Cairo, however, I was fortunate in having the most helpful supervision of Dr Jaroslav Černý.

When my B. Litt. Thesis was finished, Dr Černý suggested the subject of «slavery» for a D. Phil. Thesis, mentioning that Dr A. H. Gardiner had often expressed the desire to see this question investigated. This was approved, by cable, by Professor Gunn, who suggested the title *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*, but also pointed out that for a comprehensive treatment of the subject demotic documents should also be studied.

The sources consulted in connection with the Thesis include hieroglyphic texts of all periods as well as documents written in normal and abnormal hieratic and in demotic. The Aramaic papyri of the Persian Period have also been consulted. Works in Greek papyrology have been utilised to shed light on Slavery in the Ptolemaic Period. The peculiar character of the subject has also necessitated frequent reference to works on Hittite, Babylonian, Hebrew and Roman laws.

I am much indebted to the late Professor Gunn for his encouragement in the preparation of the Thesis. Also, when Dr Černý had to leave Egypt late in 1943, the Late Professor Gunn suggested that I should return to Oxford to complete my work under his supervision. For all this, and for all his valuable remarks and suggestions during the course of my work, I cannot adequately thank him.

Dr Černý, my supervisor in Egypt, spared no effort, despite a period of ill health and disturbing circumstances, to guide and direct me in the early stages of my work: and to him also goes my deep gratitude. I have also been greatly helped by his supervision with regard to the transcription of the abnormal Hieratic documents.

My hearty thanks are also due to Dr F. de Zulueta, Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford, for kindly reading the greater part of my thesis in connection with its legal aspects.

It should be added that this work was sent to the press in 1947, but its appearance has been delayed through various apparent and unapparent reasons. During this interval other important articles bearing on the subject have appeared, notably an article in the *J. E. A.* 34 by the Late P. Smither concerning the slave girl *snbt* (Berlin, 10470). But nothing in the material invalidated any of the conclusions which I have reached. Also M. Malinine has just published the transcription and translation of P. Louvre 3228 C in *Revue d'Égyptologie* 6 (1951). His article contains a number of new readings at variance with mine. One of the apparent causes of the delay in the publication of this work is due to the fact that I placed this work in the hands of Mr. Leibovitsch, at that time the editor of the Department's Publications, who kindly undertook the task of seeing it through the press. Unfortunately, however, this task had only just begun when Mr. Leibovitsch's personal plans were changed and he left the country, leaving the work in a completely unsatisfactory state especially in regard to the illustrations which he had arranged with the press to be made in the form of photostats. Therefore, in order to facilitate the work of the press, and so obviate further delay, I have omitted to give the hieroglyphic text for all my examples and have used only the translations. I should mention that the abstract of the Thesis, which I was required to present with it, has been divided and incorporated in the relevant parts of the work as summaries.

Finally, I must thank M. Louis Christophe, our present editor of the Department's Publications and M. Lajuncomme, director of the French Press, who have done their best to finally speed this work through the press.

Alexandria, April 1952.

A. M. B.

CONTENTS

PREFACE VII

CONTENTS IX

BIBLIOGRAPHY XIII

A. Works having abbreviated titles (p. XIII).
B. Other Works (p. XVIII).

ABBREVIATIONS OTHER THAN THOSE CONTAINED IN PP. XIII-XVIII..... XIX

CHAPTER I. The Background 1

The Nile (p. 1); Praedial Servitude (p. 2); Royal Decrees (p. 3); Corvée System (p. 4); Classification of Land (p. 4); Space-Relation (p. 5); Results of Space-Relation (p. 6); Slavery and Serfdom (p. 6); Slavery and Servitude (p. 8).

CHAPTER II. Terminology 11

A. Miscellanea (p. 11-14) :
(I)ḫt "Property" (p. 11); Purchase and Sale (p. 12); Hire and Rent of Service (p. 12); Transfers (p. 13); Master and Mistress (p. 13); To sum up (p. 13).

B. Terms for Slave (p. 14-40) :
I. *'Iswtw* (p. 14); II. *B3k* : Verbal Meanings (p. 15); Noun (p. 17); To sum up (p. 21); III. *Mr(y)t* (p. 22); To sum up (p. 24); Various Writings and Titles (p. 24); IV. *Mr(t)* (p. 25); To sum up (p. 27); Various Writings and Titles (p. 27); V. *Ḥm* (p. 29); To sum up (p. 34); VI. *Smdt* (p. 34); VII. *Ḏt* and *N-ḏ(y)t* : A. *Ḏt* (p. 36); To sum up (p. 37); B. *N-ḏ(y)t* (p. 37); The Nature of the *N-ḏ(y)t* (p. 38); To sum up (p. 40); Various Writings (p. 40).

C. Employment and Emancipation (p. 41-52) :
1. *Pr-šn'* and *Šn'* (p. 41); To sum up (p. 45); Various Writings and Titles (p. 46); 2. Emancipation : *Nmḥ* (p. 48); To sum up (p. 52).

CHAPTER III. Legal Aspects..... 53

A. Transfers of Slaves and their Services (p. 53-64) :
Kinds : A. Deeds of Disposal (p. 54).—B. Hire, Purchase or Sale (p. 56).—C. Voluntary Servitude (p. 56); Oral Legal Transfers (p. 57); Form of Transfers : A. Date (p. 57).—B. Body (p. 58).—C. Witnesses and their Declarations (p. 59); Formulae of Transfers : Hire and Sale Formulae (p. 60); Assertions (p. 62); Oaths (p. 63); Formula in Marriage Settlements (p. 64).

B. Old and Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period (p. 64-69) : Evidence, Scanty and Vague (p. 64); Domestic and Foreign Slaves (p. 65); Family Relationships (p. 65); Similar Status of Male and Female Slaves (p. 65); Apparently no Rights (p. 66); Restricted Acquisition (p. 67); Punishment (p. 67); Right to Slave-Service (p. 67); Marks (p. 68); Treatment (p. 68); Emancipation (p. 69).

C. From the XVIIIth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period (p. 69-95) :

I. The Slave as a *Res* (p. 69-82) : (*a*) Ownership (p. 69); (*b*) Sale of Slaves (p. 70); Sale Contracts (p. 71); Nationality of Slaves (p. 72); Hire Contracts (p. 72); Vendors and Slaves in Contracts (p. 73); Disputes arising from Purchase (p. 73); Voluntary Servitude : A. Contracts of Self-Sale (p. 74).—B. "Unilateral" Acts of Self-dedication (p. 76); Failure to fulfil Deeds of Servitude (p. 77); Claims (p. 78); Claim to Fugitive (p. 79); Delicts of Slaves (p. 79); King's Protection of Temple-Slaves (p. 80); Captives (p. 81); To sum up (p. 81).

II. The Slave as a Man (p. 82-89) : Servile *Cognatio* (p. 82); Master's Legacy and Gift to Slaves (p. 84); Slaves as Proprietors (p. 84); Citizenship, and Humane Attitude of Owners (p. 87); Slaves as Witnesses in Law-Courts (p. 88); Extradition of Fugitives (p. 89); To sum up (p. 89).
Appendix I : Translation of P. Louvre 3228 E (p. 91).
Appendix II : Translation of (A) P. Turin (p. 93).—(B) Aramaic Papyrus no. 28 (p. 94).

CHAPTER IV. Social-Economic Aspects 97

Position of Slaves (p. 97); Owners of Slaves (p. 99); Number of Slaves (p. 100); Price of Slaves (p. 100); Slave-Labour (p. 101); Price of Labour, and Ration (p. 102); Organisation (p. 102); To sum up (p. 103).
Index of Proper-Names (p. 103).

CHAPTER V. Enslavement and Emancipation 109

A. Enslavement (p. 109-122) :

I. Capture (p. 109); Captives become Slaves (p. 109); Treatment (p. 112); Assimilation of Captives (p. 112); Owners of Captives (p. 113); Number of Captive-Slaves (p. 113); Disposal of Captives (p. 114); Employment (p. 114); Captives' Rights, Family Rights (p. 115); Pygmies and Dwarfs (p. 116).

II. Birth : In the Middle Kingdom (p. 117); From the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards (p. 117).

III. Voluntary Servitude : Purpose of Voluntary Servitude (p. 119); Suppliants not necessarily Slaves (p. 120); To sum up (p. 122).

B. Emancipation (p. 122-123) : To sum up (123).

CONCLUSION 124

SUBJECT-INDEX 125

SOME HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS :

A. Hieroglyphic : *Cairo Stela* 56994 ..... Pl. I

B. Abnormal Hieratic :

Cairo Stela $\frac{27}{24}\left|\frac{6}{3}\right.$ ..... Pls. II-IV
P. Louvre 3228 A ..... Pls. V-VII
P. Louvre 3228 C (see also Preface, p. VIII) ..... Pls. VIII-XI
P. Louvre 3228 E ..... Pls. XII-XIV
P. Louvre 3228 F ..... Pls. XV-XVI

C. Demotic :

Louvre E 706 ..... Pls. XVII-XVIII
P. Turin ..... Pls. XIX-XX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. WORKS HAVING ABBREVIATED TITLES

Abbott Dockets . . . . . See *Tomb Robberies*.

Abydos . . . . . A. Mariette, *Abydos*, 2 vols.

Admonitions . . . . . A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (*P. Leiden*, 344 *rt.*).

Adoption Papyrus . . . . . A. H. Gardiner, *Adoption Extraordinary*, in *JEA* 26, 23-29, pls. 5-7.

Äg. Inschrr . . . . . *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 2 vols

AJP . . . . . *American Journal of Philology*.

AJSL . . . . . *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*.

Amarna . . . . . N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, 6 vols.

Amenemḥēt . . . . . Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemḥēt*.

Anc. Rec . . . . . J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 5 vols.

Ann. Serv . . . . . *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte*.

Bauer . . . . . Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*.

Baugeschichte . . . . . J. Dümichen, *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*.

Beni Hasan . . . . . P. E. Newberry and F. Ll. Griffith, *Beni Hasan*, 4 vols.

BIE . . . . . *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte*.

BIFAO . . . . . *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*.

BMMA . . . . . *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New-York).

BM Stelae . . . . . *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum*, 8 parts, *BM Stelae*, I, pl. 54, see photographic reproduction in *Guide to the Egyptian Collection in the BM* (1930), p. 164.

Borchardt, *Amonstempel* . . L. Borchardt, *Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempel von Karnak*.

Borchardt, *Ägyptiaca* . . . . L. Borchardt, *Eine Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus dem alten Reiche*, in *Ägyptiaca* (Festschrift G. Ebers).

Book of the Dead . . . . . E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead*.

Boulaq . . . . . A. Mariette, *Les Papyrus Egyptiens du Musée de Boulaq; Boulaq*, 18 is quoted after the numbers of A. Scharff, published in *ZÄS* 57, 1**-24**.

Briefe aus Illahun	A. Scharff, *Briefe aus Illahun*, in *ZÄS* 59, 20-51 with 'Anhang' 1-12.
Bryce Tablet	F. Ll. Griffith, *A Contract of the 5th year of Amenhotep IV*, in *PSBA* 30, 272-275.
Bürgschaftsurkunden	K. Sethe and Partsch, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptische Bürgschaftsrechts vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit.*
Cairo no.	Numbers between 1 and 653 are to be found in Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten* (*CGC*), 2 vols.; between 1295 and 1541 in Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* (*CGC*), one part; between 20001 and 20780 in H. Lange-H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches* (*CGC*), 4 vols.; between 34001 and 34186 in P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (*CGC*), 2 parts; between 42001 and 42250 in G. Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* (*CGC*), 2 vols.
Cairo stela 56994.....	See pl. I of Thesis.
Cairo stela $\frac{27}{24}\frac{6}{3}$	See pls. II, III, IV of Thesis.
Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap......	F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, vol. III.
CGC	*Catalogue Général des Antiquités du Musée du Caire.*
Chron. d'Eg.	*Chronique d'Egypte.*
Cones	Davies, *Cones Material*, unpublished.
Congrès Inter. Pap.	*Actes du V^e^ Congrès International de Papyrologie* (1931).
Courtiers	Petrie and others, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos.*
Dedications	H. Thompson, *Two Demotic Self-Dedications*, in *JEA* 26, 66-78.
Dem. Pap. Berlin.	W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin.*
Dem. Pap. (CGC).....	W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Papyrus* (*CGC*).
Dendérah.	A. Mariette, *Dendérah*, 4 vols.
Edfou	E. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, 14 vols.
Egn. Gr.	A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar.*
Egyptol. Researches	W. M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches.*
Florence.	Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze : Antichità Egizie.*
Four Papyri	A. H. Gardiner, *Four Papyri of the XVIIIth Dynasty*, in *ZÄS* 43, 27-47.
Gizeh and Rifeh.	F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh.*
Griffith Studies.	*Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith.*
Hammâmât.	J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques et Hiératiques du Ouadi Hammâmât* (*MIFAO*).
Haremhab.	M. Müller, *Decree of Administrative Reforms by King Ḥar-em-ḥeb*, in *Egyptol. Researches*, I, pp. 56-59, pls. 90-104.
Harris I	W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I.*
Hauswaldt.	W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Papyri Hauswaldt.*

Hierakonpolis	J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, 2 vols.
Hierat. Lesest.	G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*.
Hierat. Pap. Berlin	*Hieratische Papyrus aus den Museen zu Berlin*.
Hist. Inschrr. 19. Dyn., I.	Sander-Hansen, *Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie*, Teil I.
Huy	B. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy*.
Inscript. Dédicat	H. Gauthier, *La Grande Inscription Dédicatoire d'Abydos*.
Inscrr. hiérogl.	K. Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Egypte*, 3 vols.
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
Kahun	F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*.
Karnak	A. Mariette, *Karnak*.
LD	Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*.
LEM	A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*.
Lesest.	K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*.
Liv. Ann.	*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Liverpool.
Louvre	A. Gayet, *Musée du Louvre. Stèles de la XII^e Dynastie*.
Louvre C. 15	See photograph reproduced in G. Elliot Smith and W. R. Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies*, fig. 5, facing p. 40.
Louvre E. 706	See transcription, pls. XVII, XVIII of Thesis.
LRL	J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*.
Mastabas	A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*.
Maximes Pt.	E. Dévaud, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep*.
Med. Habu	The Graphic Survey, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, 3 vols.
Médamoud, II	Et. Drioton, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Médamoud* (1926) — *Les Inscriptions*.
Meir	A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, 4 vols.
Mél. Maspero	*Mélanges Maspero*.
Mereruka	The Sakkarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols.
MES	A. M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories*.
Mortuary Contract	T. E. Peet, *A Mortuary Contract of the XIth Dynasty*, in *Liv. Ann.*, 7, 81-88, pl. 15.
MVAG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft*.
Nauri Stela	F. Ll. Griffith, *The Abydos Decree of Seti Ist at Nauri*, in *JEA* 13, 193-208, pls. 38-43; also *Hist. Inschrr. 19. Dyn.*, I, p. 13-24.
Neferhotep	M. Pieper, *Die Grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos*, in *MVAG*, 32, part 2, 1-78; also Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pls. 28-30, and W. E. Edgerton, *The Nauri Decree of Seti I* — a translation and Analysis of the legal part in *JNES* 6, 219-230.

Ostr. Deir Méd.	J. Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques non-littéraires de Deir el-Médineh.*
Ostr. Hiérat.	J. Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques* (*CGC*).
P. Abbott.	*Tomb Robberies.*
P. Anastasi I	A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, I.
P. BM. 10052	*Tomb Robberies.*
P. BM. 10053	—
P. BM. 10068	—
P. BM. 10107	S. R. K. Glanville. *The Letters of Aahmose of Peniati*, in *JEA* 14, 294 ff.
P. BM 10113	N. Reich, *Papyri Juristischen Inhalts.*
P. BM 10240	— — —
P. BM 10622-10639	H. Thompson, Two *Demotic Self-dedications*, in *JEA* 26, 68-78.
P. Berlin 9010	*ZÄS* 61, 73 ff.
P. Berlin 9784	*Four Papyri.*
P. Berlin 9785	—
P. Berlin 10021	*Briefe aus Illahun.*
P. Cairo 30601	*Dem. Pap.* (*CGC*).
P. Cairo 30607	— —
P. Cairo 30608	— —
P. Cairo 65739	A. H. Gardiner, *A Lawsuit arising from the Purchase of Two Slaves* in *JEA* 21, 140 ff.
P. Gurob, II, 1	*Four Papyri.*
P. Gurob, II, 2	—
P. Louvre 3228 A	See Transcription pls. VI, VII.
P. Louvre 3228 C	— pls. IX, X, XI.
P. Louvre 3228 E	— pls. XIII, XIV.
P. Louvre 3228 F	— pls. XV, XVI.
P. Louvre 32230	T. E. Peet, *Two XVIIIth Dynasty Letters, Papyrus Louvre* 32230 (consists of two pieces : *a* and *b*) in *JEA* 12, 70 ff.
P. Mayer	T. E. Peet, *The Mayer Papyri A and B.*
P. Peter	W. Golénischeff, *Les Papyrus Hiératiques de l'Ermitage Impérial à Saint-Petersbourg.*
P. Prisse	G. Jéquier, *Le Papyrus Prisse et ses Variantes.*
P. Rylands (a Roman number)	*Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, nos. between 19 and 23; also pp. 254, 257.
P. Salt 124	J. Černý, *Papyrus Salt* 124, in *JEA* 15, 243 ff.
P. Turin	See Transcription pl. XX.
P. Turin 2021	J. Černý and T. E. Peet, *A Marriage Settlement of the XXth Dynasty*, in *JEA* 13, 30 ff.; also *BIFAO* 37, 41 ff.
Paheri	J. J. Taylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri.*
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*

Pyr.	K. Sethe, *Die Altägyptischen Pyramidentexte.*
Rec. tr.	*Recueil de travaux.*
Rekhmirē^c	N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē^c at Thebes.*
Répert. Généal.	G. Legrain, *Répertoire Généalogique.*
Resultate	J. Dümichen, *Resultate der... Archäologisch-Photographischen Expedition.*
Rev. Eg.	*Revue Egyptologique.*
Saqqara, II	M. A. Murray and K. Sethe, *Saqqara Mastabas*, part II.
Season	F. Petrie, *A Season in Egypt.*
Sinai	A. H. Gardiner and T. E. Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, part I.
Sitzungsb. Berlin	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
Siût	F. Ll. Griffith, *Inscriptions of Siût and Der Rîfeh.*
Siût Archive	H. Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut.*
Six Temples	F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes.*
Tarkhan I	F. Petrie and others, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V.*
Tempelinschrr.	J. Dümichen, *Altägyptische Tempelinschriften*: I, Edfu; II, Dendera.
Temples of Armant	R. Mond and others, *Temples of Armant*, 2 vols.
Teti Cemet.	G. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries.*
Thesaurus	H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, 6 vols.
Ti	G. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti.*
Tôd	F. Bisson de la Roque, *Tôd.*
Tomb Robberies	T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty.*
Top. Cat.	A. H. Gardiner and A. E. Weigall, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes.*
Treaty of Alliance	Max Müller, *Der Bündnisvertrag Ramses II. und des Chetiterkönigs*, in *MVAG* (1902), 5, also *JEA* 6, 169 ff.
Trois Années de Fouilles	G. Maspero, *Trois Années de Fouilles, Mém. Miss. Arch. fr.*, I.
Urk.	Section I : Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches.*
Urk.	Section II : K. Sethe, *Urkunden der Griechisch-Romischen Zeit.*
Urk.	Section III : Schäfer and Steindorff, *Urkunden der älteren Äthiopenkönige.*
Urk.	Section IV : K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie.*
Urk.	Section VII : K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches*, I.
Verpfründungsverträge	W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische Verpfründungsverträge mit Vermögensabtretungen.*
Wb	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, 5 vols.
Westcar	A. Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar.*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache.*

B. OTHER WORKS

Baillet, J. : *Les noms de l'esclave en égyptien*, in *Rec. tr.*, XXVII, 32-38, 193-217; XXVIII, 113-131; XXIX, 6-25.

Barrow, R. H. : *Slavery in the Roman Empire*.

Boeser, A. A. : *Transcription und Übersetzung des Papyrus Insinger*.

Bouché-Leclerq, H. : *Histoire des Lagides*.

Breasted, J. H. : *A History of Egypt*.

Buckland, W. W. : *Main Institutions of Roman Private Law*.

Cowley, A. : *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*

Davies, N. de Garis : *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said*.

Dunham, D. : *Nag-ed-dêr Stelae*.

Dykmans, G. : *Histoire Economique et Sociale de l'Ancienne Egypte*.

Ebers, G. : *Ägyptische Studien*, 420 ff. (*Die Sklaverei im Orient*).

Edgerton, W. : *Demotica*; see Otto-Wegner, etc. below.

Erman, A.-Ranke, H. : *Ägypten und Ägyptisches Leben im Altertum*.

Gardiner, A. H. : *The Wilbour Papyrus*.

Hastings, J. : *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. II, 596 ff.

Ingram, K. : *History of Slavery and Serfdom*.

Johns, H. W. : *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws*.

Kees, H. : *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orient*. I, *Ägypten*.

Korošec, V. : *Einige Beiträge zum Hethitischen Sklavenrecht—Festschrift Paul Koschaker* (1939), pp. 127-139.

Koschaker, P. : *Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurapis*.

Lautner, J. G. : *Altbabylonische Personenmiete und Erntearbeiterverträge*.

Maine, H. S. : *Ancient Law*, ed. 1924.

Meyer, E. : *Geschichte des Altertums*.

Montet, P. : *Les Scènes de la Vie Privée dans les Tombeaux Egyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*.

Moret, A. : *Le Nil et la Civilisation Egyptienne*.

Otto, W.-Wegner, I. : *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft*, 281 ff.

Petrie, F. : *Deshasheh*, pl. IV.

—— *Social Life in Ancient Egypt*.

Pirenne, J. : *Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Egypte*.

—— *Le Servage dans l'Egypte Ancienne sous les XXI^e-XXV^e Dynasties*.

Polotsky, J. : *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie*.

Préaux, C. : *L'Economie Royale des Lagides*.

Revillout, M. E. : *Cours du Droit Egyptien*, I (l'Etat des Personnes), 61-114.

—— *Les Obligations en Droit Egyptien*.

—— *Précis du Droit Egyptien*, II, 881 ff.

San Nicolò, M. : *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte im Bereiche der Keilschriftlichen Rechtsquellen.*

Schorr, M. : *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden.*

Seidl, E. : *Einführung in die ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte bis zum Ende des neuen Reiches.* I. *Juristischer Teil* (*Ägyptische Forshungen*, Heft 10).

—— *Übersetzungen und Abhandlungen zum Vorptolemäischen Rechte Ägyptens.*

Spiegelberg, W. : *Demotica*, II ; Abhandlung Bayer. Akademie. Nov. 1927.

—— *Die Demotischen Urkunden des Zenon-Archivs.*

Taubenschlag, R. : *Das Sklavenrecht im Rechte der Papyri*, in *Zeits. Sav. Stiftung*, 50, 140-169.

Volten, A. : *Zwei Altägyptische Politische Schriften.*

Von Woess, F. : *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit*, pp. 113-164.

Wallon, H. : *Histoire de l'Esclavage dans l'Antiquité.*

Weill, R. : *Les Décrets Royaux de l'Ancien Empire.*

Westermann, W. L. : *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt.*

Wiedemann and Pörtner : *Ägyptische Grabreliefs aus der Grossherzoglichen... Sammlung zu Karlsruhe.*

Wilken, W. : *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* (*Papyri aus Unterägypten*).

A few other works, each quoted once or twice only, are to be found in the footnotes of the Thesis.

ABBREVIATIONS

OTHER THAN THOSE CONTAINED IN PP. XIII-XIX

f. = feminine.
F. I. = First Intermediate Period.
L. = Late Period.
m. = masculine.
M. = Middle Kingdom.
N. = New Kingdom.
O. = Old Kingdom.
Pt. = Ptolemaic Period.

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

There is no doubt that the conditions which gave rise to 'Slavery', as a social institution, and the status of the slaves themselves were not identical in the different communities in which this institution was established, nor in different periods of history. The social life of a people requires a long period of time for its evolution, and this evolution entails a change in attitude towards many social concepts, including 'Slavery'. Economic conditions are also closely linked to social life, and consequently any alteration in them is bound to lead to different interpretations of social institutions. Therefore, as a preliminary to the study of 'Slavery', a clear idea must be gained of the operative factors in the community. This involves a survey of the physical environment of the community, on the one hand, and of what geographers call its 'space-relations', on the other. It must, therefore, be determined how far the economic foundation controls the social status of the people[1], so that the concept of 'Slavery' may be rightly interpreted against these changing backgrounds.

The Nile

The traditional benevolence of the Nile[2] is not unmixed, nor is it independent of the human element. A survey of Pharaonic Egypt[3] shows

[1] It should be made clear from the very beginning that the author will deal only briefly with *labour* in relation to *land;* treatment of social classes is therefore excluded.

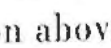
[2] *Cf.* the often quoted passage from *Herodotus II* § 5, "Egypt is acquired land and the gift of the river." Not irrelevant are : *Pyr.* §§ 1553/1554, and the various hymns to the Nile, such as *P. Sallier II,* ll. 6-14.

[3] The scope of this Thesis includes the Ptolemaic Period, for the Ptolemies were also Pharaohs.

that agriculture was by far the principal source of subsistence [1] and that the economic status of Egypt was entirely based on the exploitation of the productive power of the soil. In order to maintain this means of livelihood, the Nile water and its annual flood had to be controlled; the soil had to be tilled and prepared for cultivation. Under such conditions, it was not capital that was wanted, but labour. Neither was the isolated work of an individual or a family or even one village community involved, because one system of irrigation might extend over the territory of several villages, while the basins had to be surrounded by dykes [2], and canals had to be dug to conduct the flood water to the fields. There was also the double danger of a very high flood [3] or a very low one [4]. To avert the former the banks of the Nile had to be maintained at a certain height, and any temporary breaches had to be speadily dealt with. In the latter case, extra effort was needed to water the fields.

All these circumstances resulted in a social structure in which solidarity, cooperation and authority were essential features. Solidarity and coopeŕation were indispensable for the carrying out of a system which, as we have pointed out, was beyond the physical resources of small isolated groups [5]. Authority was equally vital to enforce law and order.

Praedial servitude

The vital nature of rural work led to exploitation not only of the land, but also of the man power, without distinction between one occupation and another. Even a *w'b*-priest or a *ḫm-nṯr* was not necessarily exempted from compulsory state-labour. Amenemōnet writes to Pentawēret, saying, in extolling the scribe's profession above all others : 'The prophet ()

[1] Of particular interest is the Ist Dynasty representation of the 'Scorpion' king taking part in the inauguration of irrigation work, Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 26 C 4.

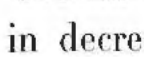
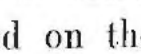
[2] The earliest example known to me is mentioned in the preceding footnote.

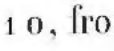
[3] References to flood records are : G. Daressy, *Rec. tr.* 18, 181-184 or *Bull. Instit. Ég.* 3 (1895), 6, 275 ff.

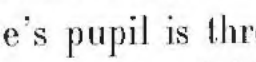
[4] In such cases famines are inevitable. Cf. J. Vandier, *La Famine dans l'Égypte ancienne*; Él. Drioton, *BIÉ* 25, 45-54; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums I*, 2, § 230; Erman-Ranke, *Ägypten*, p. 514; Cairo no. 20001; *PSBA* 18, 195 ff.; Capart-Werbrouck, *Memphis*, p. 135.

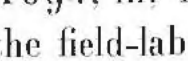
[5] Cf. A. Moret, *Le Nil et la Civilisation égyptienne*, pp. 38, 39.

stands as a cultivator, the *w'b*-priest works the canal spending the time and... drench him in the river' [1].

Also in decrees : 'And as for any field work or any  which is imposed on the  of this temple, my Majesty has commanded that they should be reserved similarly (?) for Min of Coptos' [2].

A quarry-man could also be employed on canal work [3]. So, too, slaves were put to work in the fields, as is evident from *P. Bologna*, 1086, 9 ff. [4] : 'I have investigated (the matter of) the Syrian of the House of Thoth about whom you wrote to me. I have found that he was put as field-labourer of the House of Thoth under your authority in year 3, second month of summer season, day 10, from among the slaves () of the ship's cargo brought bach by the commander of the forces...'

Field-labour must have been regarded by the Egyptians as very hard work. A scribe's pupil is threatened with it :  'I shall cause thee to be a field-labourer' [5].

One is also reminded of the escape of the field-labourers mentioned in *P. Bologna* 1094, III, 1 ff. [6] : 'Another communication to my master to the effect that the field-labourers () [7]... a man has fled from them before the face of the stable-master Neferḥotep, he having beaten them. Now, behold, the fields... are abandoned and there is no one to till them' [8].

Royal decrees

Indeed, exemption from such works or any others on the land (usually temple-land) could be effected by a *wḏ-nsw* 'royal decree' [9] : 'My Majesty has further decreed that this region be reserved and protected for my father Ptaḥ, South-of-his wall, Lord of 'Ankh [towi] from the doing of any work

[1] *LEM*, 17, 1-2.
[2] *Urk. I*, 283, 15-16.
[3] *LEM*, 68, 8-14.
[4] Translated by Wolf, *ZÄS* 65, 89 ff.
[5] *LEM*, 122, 9.
[6] *LEM*, 3, 6-10.
[7] However, Glanville remarks that the *ḫwtyw* were more than 'field-labourers', see *JRAS* (1929), 23.
[8] Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 27, 22.
[9] The use of *wḏ-nsw* extended over a period from the Old Kingdom to the end of the XXth Dynasty; examples of these exemptions occur in *Urk. I* and in the *Nauri Stela*.

that is done in the irrigation (?). I do not suffer any person to be taken thence through the agency of [any local administrative official], or any King's messenger" [1].

Sometimes the document specifies the nature of the work from which certain people are exempted : "My Majesty forbids for all time that they should be occupied in the *r-ˁ* [2] of the king, in the pasture of bulls, the pasture of asses, or flocks of the 'herdsman's house' or any regular employment and any burden (?) [3] of which registration is made in the estate of the king" [4].

Corvée system

Thus it is clear that there was a system of 'corvée' which extended not only to the peasantry but to other classes whose regular occupation had nothing to do with agriculture or irrigation [5]. From the Old Kingdom onwards the people thus engaged appear to have enjoyed no rights; these, therefore, must have been vested in the king. A certain class of the people even formed part and parcel of the land itself. The Egyptian economic factors thus contributed to : (*a*) a *de facto* status of bondage to the land ; (*b*) compulsory service [6]. From these it may be seen how far freedom and personal rights were ignored. In some transfers these people were regarded as *res* and mentioned with cattle and land [7]. They were classed with other immovable property and could be bequeathed, as will be shown below.

Classification of land

For a better understanding of agricultural bondage, a few words on the different categories of land may be helpful. Although there is no evidence that all the manifold categories of land which we find in documents

[1] *Ann. Serv.* 27, 222.

[2] See p. 23 below, n. 7.

[3] The meaning of this word is not clear. It occurs in Old Kingdom decrees; cf. Weill, *Les Décrets royaux*, pp. 15-17; Sethe, *Götting. Gelehr. Anzeigen* (1912), p. 708.

[4] *Urk. I*, 281, 2-4.

[5] The texts are vague on other kinds of work.

[6] This system seems to have persisted in the Ptolemaic period, cf. *JEA* 6, 165 ff. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, 145; C. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, 395-400, also 247, where the corvée was imposed even on soldiers.

[7] See 69 ff. below.

of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods existed in Pharaonic Egypt, some, at least, of them may go back to that period.

Under the Ptolemies the entire land of Egypt was the king's property ἐν ἀφέσει γῆ [1] of which he disposed as he liked, and it was divided into the following categories :

(A) The *crown land* γῆ βασιλικὴ [2] directly owned by the king. This was perhaps in the Old Kingdom the kind of land cultivated by the *rmṯw-nsw* [3].

(B) The *temple* (lit. priestly) *land* γῆ ἱερατικὴ owned and administered by the temples [4]; compare the *ꜣḫt nṯr*, which at least since the Vth Dynasty played an important role [5].

(C) The γῆ ἰδιωτικὴ, *the private land* of the Ptolemaic Period [6], was owned by officials. It was known previously as *ꜣḫt nmḫw* 'land of freemen', and included royal grants [7], or sold and inherited property [8].

Space-relations

Owing to the frequently hostile relations between Egypt and her neighbours, captives and tribute often assumed large proportions, particularly in the New Kingdom. Captives apparently were primarily the property of the king who presented some to military leaders in recognition of their services [9], and assigned others to temples and public works.

However, the *ꜥꜣmw*, for example, were certainly sometimes traders and not slaves, and this does not entail any other than peaceful relations [10]. The

[1] See Preisigke F., *Wb. der griechischen Papyruskunden*, I, 245; Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, 459 ff.; cf. also *Urk. IV*, 1103-1117 and the expression *pꜣ tꜣ n Pr-ꜥꜣ* 'the land of Pharaoh'.

[2] See H. Thompson, *JEA* 26, 69.

[3] See p. 29, below, n. 4.

[4] Priests were sometimes land-owners, e.g. *Sinai Contracts*.

[5] Cf. Old Kingdom decrees published in *Urk. I*; the category of stelae called 'donation stelae'—see H. Sottas, *La Préservation de la Propriété funéraire dans l'ancienne Égypte*.

[6] Cf. *JEA* 19, 21.

[7] Cf. *Urk. IV*, 2, 4.

[8] Cf. Metjen's inscription in *Urk. I*, pp. 2-5.

[9] Cf. *Urk. IV*, 4, 11-13.

[10] Cf. *Beni Hasan I*, pls. 30, 31 where 37 Asiatics bring eye-paint; *Kahun*, pls. 12, 13, 30 for the conveyance of the *ꜥꜣmw* and pl. 24 for the use of Asiatic-dancers at Egyptian feasts. In *Tôd* (1934-1936), 113 ff. there is no evidence as to the nature of the relation.

inscriptions of Sinai [1], providing evidence that the mines were exploited, are, unfortunately, not conclusive on the nature of the relation between the Egyptians and the inhabitants of this region [2].

Results of space-relations

The conquests not only brought captives into Egypt—the main source of slaves [3]—but they also brought about the change which is noticeable in legal and economic matters. Although some isolated examples of legal transfers have come down to us from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, yet we must admit that the growth of trade and relations with foreign countries brought about modifications and increase in legal transactions. By contrasting documents of those periods with the abundant legal documents of the XXVth Dynasty, the change is clearly seen [4].

Slavery and serfdom [5]

'As the distinctions between different forms of slavery are indefinite, so must there be an indefinite distinction between slavery and serfdom, and between the several forms of serfdom. Much confusion has arisen in describing these respective institutions, and for the sufficient reason that the institutions themselves are confused' [6]. The truth of this observation of

[1] Cf. *Sinai* especially pls. 36, no. 110 where the *ʿmw* and *dt* are mentioned; 26, no. 90.

[2] Soldiers were even dispatched to work there, cf. *LD* III, 219 C; *Anc. Rec.* IV, §§ 461 ff. In § 466 the number of soldiers as well as that of other classes is mentioned. The army seems to form part of some quarry expeditions, e. g. *Ann. Serv.* 25, 242 ff. As to earlier exploitation of Sinai, cf. *Anc. Rec.* I, § 713. A Rowe, *Cat. Egn. Scarabs in the Palestine Museum*, pp. XIII-XLVII supplies ample evidence on the relation between Egypt and Syria down to the XXXIst Dynasty.

[3] It will be discussed in its relevant chapter.

[4] Examples occur in demotic texts, cf. *Cat. Ryl. Pap.*, pp. 9-11.

[5] The author has referred to the following main general works : J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XI, 596-631; K. Ingram, *Hist. of Slavery and Serfdom*, 262 ff.; Buckland, *Main Institutions of Roman Private Law*, 38 ff.; H. S. Maine, *Ancient Law* (ed. 1924), 286/287; H. W. Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*, 44-49, 161-208, 113-116, 218-227; P. Koschaker, *Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurapis*, 85-110.

[6] H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology* (1885-1896), III, 472.

Spencer's strikes the student of Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt very strongly. We shall use the term 'slave' in the sense it has acquired under the influence of Roman law, to mean a person owned by another in the same way as any other chattel, so that he may be used as his owner pleases and be disposed of by sale, hire and so forth.

However, this is an extreme conception, which even in Roman law is subject to certain attenuations. When such attenuations are carried beyond a certain point, we speak in modern language of serfdom or bondage. A widely diffused form of bondage is praedial servitude, the villeinage of English law, the colonate of late Roman. This means that the bondsman is attached to a given piece of land; he must work more or less as a slave for the owner of that land, but only on that land; and if the land changes ownership, he changes 'master' —this is called praedial serfdom.

In dealing with the Egyptian evidence, two points must be borne in mind. An Egyptian code distinguishing the status of persons, and thus between freemen, slaves and bondsmen, has not as yet been discovered, so that all we can do is to seek to determine to what extent this or that term denoting subjection indicates a status approximating to slavery in the full sense. On the other hand, Pharaonic Egypt was not stationary; consequently the implications of terms varied from age to age. The difference between the comparatively isolated Egypt of the Old Kingdom and that of later periods with their far-reaching conquests and abundance of wealth, captives and new ideas due to contact with foreign countries, was no doubt instrumental in bringing about these changes. The characteristic economic back-ground, *i. e.* agriculture, contributes greatly to the difficulty in distinguishing between 'slavery' and 'serfdom'. Pharaonic Egypt does not give us any clear idea whether those employed for the exploitation of the soil were properly to be classified as slaves, serfs or paid labourers : Djḥutmose writes to Butehamūn and Shedemduat, 'Take care of the people ( ) who are in the field and let them do their irrigation work very well [1]'.

[1] *LRL*, 10, 12-13. In any case they appear to have stood in some close and subordinate relation to the sender—read further till line 16. Attention may also be drawn to the flight of the field-labourers, see p. 3 above.

Nor do we know the exact status of those employed in other works as the construction of royal tombs, temples, etc. [1].

Slavery in the full sense is certainly to be found. There are persons who are the property of others, in the sense that those others have full and exclusive rights to make use of them by sale, exchange, hire and so forth, as of other movable property. But we also find cases in which these rights are so far limited and modified that we must speak of bondsmen or serfs, especially praedial serfs, rather than of slaves.

The difficulty of drawing a distinct line between slavery and serfdom is shown by the evidence from the Old and Middle Kingdoms. We find that transfers of land include the *instrumentum*, *i. e.* the persons, cattle and implements necessary for its cultivation. In a primitive society this is only natural, for without the *instrumentum*, the land is useless. Separate transfer of the movables connected with the land was not thought of, because neither was the distinction between immovables and movables. It would have been beyond the primitive mind to conceive of a special form of transfer for each class of thing [2].

In the author's opinion, 'slavery' existed in Pharaonic Egypt, but in different forms and degrees, according to the various rights and services involved, which were appropriate to a primitive society. There was, it seems, a fundamental classification of persons as either free or unfree; but the unfree included not only slaves, but also persons with some degree or degrees of liberty. Among such persons we may take as the decisive criterion the possibility or impossibility of being sold.

Slavery and Servitude

Praedial servitude, as we have seen on pp. 2, 3 above, provided for the requirements of the agricultural community, which may explain its existence

[1] To quote Petrie, *Social Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 25, 'The serfage, which probably continued throughout the history, prevented the requirement of slave labour on large estates. It was a mild and comparatively harmless obligation, which did not prevent ability from rising, and it saved the land from the ruin which slavery brings'.

[2] Both classes were conveyed in identical terms, cf. *P. Berlin* 9784, *P. Turin*, *P. Rylands* VIII (the sale of a cow). See also the contract of the sale of a house and all possessions including slaves in *P. Rylands* XI.

and nature. For the community to make use of some of its man power for its own welfare does not necessarily entail a form of slavery which reduces the individual to the status of a chattel.

While the state of servitude applied only to land, and is more or less limited in time, there existed another form—known from the XXVth to the XXVIIth Dynasties—which is essentially personal and permanent. The instrument for this voluntary servitude is a sale contract drawn up between two individuals. It gives the buyer indefinite rights over the vendor as well as his present and future children and earnings in perpetuity (*šꜣ*ᶜ *dt*). Whatever the cause of this step may have been, this institution is certainly nearer to slavery proper.

CHAPTER II

TERMINOLOGY [1]

A. MISCELLANEA

(*i*)*ḫt* 'Property'

A slave was regarded as 'property' [2]; the question therefore arises : what did the Egyptians understand by 'property'? The term used to denote 'property' was (*i*)*ḫt*. That the owner could freely dispose of it *n mry-f* 'to whom he likes' is clear from Waḥ's 'conveyance' (*imyt-pr*) to his wife [3] : 'All things which my brother gave to me... she shall give them to any she desires of her children that she may bear to me. I am giving to her the *4 ʿ;mw* that my brother... gave to me. She shall give them to any she desires of her children [4]'.

The Egyptians, however, seem to have put certain restrictions on this right of disposal. That is to say, the *šḫm* 'right' (lit. 'power') to do what one likes with one's property could be limited in the transference of it. '(*I*) have not given the right to (lit. allowed to have the power) any *ka*-servant ever to *sell* land, *people* [or anything]... to any man, or to give (them) in a conveyance to any man (whatsoever)' [5].

[1] In the discussion of the different terms, the author will confine the evidence and references to those necessary for the aspect of the term under consideration.

[2] See p. 8 above.

[3] *Kahun*, pl. 12, 6-14.

[4] It is true that a restriction is here placed on the use of the property by the person to whom it is transferred. But the person who is bequeathing the property does with it as he likes. Concerning free disposal of 'property' in general *cf. P. Turin* 2021, III, 10-11 :

[*n mr·f*] "As for what he is doing, who shall question it? His property is his own, let him give it [to whom he will]."

[5] *Urk.* I, 12, 9-13; also p. 66 below.

Purchase and sale

As the terms for 'purchase' and 'sale' have been sufficiently explained and established by Sethe, Peet and Černý [1], it is unnecessary to discuss them here in detail. However, they have in common the phrase *r ỉsw* 'against price' [2] so that in the Old Kingdom, *ỉnt r ỉsw* 'to bring against price' means 'to buy', and *dỉt r ỉsw* 'to give against price' signifies 'to sell'. In the XIXth and XXth Dynasties *ỉnt* and *dỉt* are accompanied by *r ḏbꜣ*, Coptic ϵ·ⲧⲃϵ, for the meaning of 'to buy' (*lit.* to bring for exchange) and 'to sell' (*lit.* to give for exchange) [3] respectively which remained in use down to the XXIIIrd Dynasty [4]. During the Ramesside Period *šsp*, Coptic ϣⲱⲡ, 'to buy' was used [5]. Sometimes *ỉnt* and *dỉt* were followed by the preposition *ḥr* [6], or the phrase *r swn* [7]. *Dỉt* might also be accompanied by *r bnr*, Coptic ϵⲃⲟⲗ [8]. As to kings, to whom people are related as subjects, they only grant (lit. give), and the term used was *dỉt* [9].

Hire and rent of service

For the 'hire' of service *swnt* is used, as established by Dr. Gardiner and Professor Griffith [10]. In Ptolemaic documents, *P. BM* 10622, 15 and *P. BM* 10624, 13-14, the *bk* (or *bkt s-ḥmt*) terms his, or her, rent of service *škr*, Coptic ϣϭⲟⲣ, F. ϣⲕⲁⲣ, *n bk—škr* being the usual term for the rent of a house, land or for the hire of an office [11].

[1] Cf. Sethe, *Äg. Inschrift auf das Kauf eines Hauses;* Peet, *Egn. Words for Money, Buy and Sell* (*Griffith Studies*, 122 ff.); Černý, *JEA* 13, 34, n. 16; also *Wb.* I, 131.

[2] The phrase *m ỉsw* would, however, mean 'as a price'.

[3] *Dỉt* may be followed by *m šb* (where *šb* is masculine) with the meaning of 'to give in exchange', *i.e.* 'to sell'—cf. *JEA* 13, 71, n. 8; see also *Bürgschaftsurkunden*, p. 297, § 7.

[4] For the XIXth Dynasty example see *JEA* 21, pl. 15, 22-23. For the XXIIIrd Dynasty cf. Legrain, *ZÄS* 35, 12 ff. Other references are to be sought in Peet's article, see note 1 above.

[5] *JEA* 21, 143, no. 10.

[6] Peet's article (see note 1 above), p. 24.

[7] *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 38, 1, 1-2; *Bryce Tablet*, 2-3. Attention should be drawn to Černý's interesting discussion on *swnt* in *BIFAO* 41, 129-133.

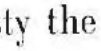
[8] *P. Turin*, line 2.

[9] Particularly when Pharaohs reward their generals for their valour by granting them a number of captives : *Urk.* IV, 4, 11-13; *Tomb Robberies* (text), p. 67, end of n. 22.

[10] Cf. *Four Papyri* and *Bryce Tablet*.

[11] *Dedications*, p. 17, note on line 15.

Transfers [1]

The term 'transfer' covers all forms of deeds in connection with the slave. The *imyt-pr* seems to be applied only to a special kind of conveyance, namely a 'testamentum' which is an instrument of the devolution of an inheritance. In connection with our subject, it was employed only in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. *Htmt* was also used, in the Middle Kingdom, to denote a 'contract' (lit. that which is sealed) concluded usually for funerary purposes [2]. In the XXVth Dynasty the transfer was called either  [3], or *sš* [4]. But towards the beginning of the XXVIIth Dynasty *ḏmꜥ*, Coptic ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ, 'papyrus roll', *i. e.* 'document', was used, and hence we have *ḏmꜥ bk* 'document of service (or servitude)' [5], and *ḏmꜥ n ḥmt* 'document of wife', *i. e.* marriage settlement [6].

Since 'transfers' were records of *verbal* transactions, they usually opened with *ḏd* 'say' or 'declare'. The term for 'to draw up (a document)' was *irt* 'to do', but *sš* 'to write' was used in two Ptolemaic demotic documents [7].

Master and mistress

The term used to denote the 'master' of a slave is . It occurs only once, namely, in *BM* 10052, IX, 15. The mistress, however, is called [8].

To sum up

In Egyptian 'to sell' and 'to buy' are expressed by compound phrases of which the first elements are *dit* and *int* respectively. The second element

[1] Transfers will be fully dealt with in the relevant chapter on 'Legal Aspects'. All references given in this paragraph, let it be noted, will be strictly limited to the subject. Therefore, while the author is aware of the occurrence of the quoted terms in other texts, these are excluded as being outside the scope of this Thesis.

[2] *Mortuary Contract*, pl. 15, 9; *Siut*, pl. 6, 271. See also p. 14 below.

[3] *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 8.

[4] *P. Louvre* 3228 C, 32; 3228 E, 19 and 23.

[5] *P. Rylands*, IV, 2.

[6] *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 210 note 11.

[7] *P. British Museum* 10622, 17; *P. British Museum* 10624, 21-23.

[8] See *Admonitions*, IV, 14.

may be : *r-ỉsw* in the Old Kingdom, *r-ḏbꜣ*, Coptic ϵ·ΤΒϵ, from the XIXth to the XXIIIrd Dynasties. *Dỉt*, however, may be followed by *m šb* in the XVIIIth Dynasty, while *ỉnt* may be accompanied by *r-swn*. *Śsp*, Coptic ϣϣΠ, and *dỉt r-ḥnr*, Coptic ϮϵΒΟϪ, are known in the Ramesside Period and the XXVIIth Dynasty, for 'to buy' and 'to sell'.

For the term 'to hire' *swn* is used in the XVIIIth Dynasty, whereas 'rent of service' is expressed, in the Ptolemaic Period, by *škr*, Coptic ϣϭΟΡ, *n bk*.

References to documents of 'transfer' of slaves are made in the following terms : *Ỉmyt pr* (in the Old and Middle Kingdoms); *ḫtmt* (in the Middle Kingdom); *ḥr, sš* (in Later Period) *-ḏm'*, Coptic ϫϢϢΜϵ, is also used.

Since these transfers are records of *verbal* transactions, they open with *ḏd* 'declare'. 'To draw up' (a contract) is expressed by *ỉrt* (lit. to do), but *sš* 'to write' is used in two Ptolemaic documents.

B. TERMS FOR SLAVE

I. *'ISWW* (cf. II) [1]

This is a collective plural substantive occurring in a still unpublished text, dating from the early VIth Dynasty [2]. It reads : 'The *ỉswww* belonging to (my) property, (I) have bought them, (they) having been registered in a sealed contract of wood (*i.e.* a document bearing the impression of a wooden seal)' [3]. Etymologically, the word *ỉswww* can only be connected with *ỉsw* 'price' or 'equivalent', and, consequently, seems to designate people acquired for an equivalent. In the context, the occurrence of the passage *ỉn(·ỉ) sn r ỉsw* in reference to these people puts the etymology of the *ỉswww* beyond any doubt, for it is there expressly stated that the *ỉswww* were acquired for an equivalent, *i. e.* 'bought'. Accordingly, *ỉswww* refers definitely to 'slaves'. The document shows also that their work was mainly connected

[1] For the reading with *ww* see JUNKER, *Giza*, III, 179, 15-16.

[2] Cairo no. 56994—see photostat, pl. i.

[3] For the term *ḫt* see *Urk.* I, 158, 4; 212, 18; 296, 15; 305, 10; for *st-ḫt* : *ibid.* 211, 7. For its meaning cf. SETHE, *Kauf eines Hauses*, p. 141. Grdseloff's rendering is based on a recent discovery of a wooden seal. Cf. his article in *Ann. Serv.* 51, 153-157, also JUNKER, *Giza*, V, p. 10.

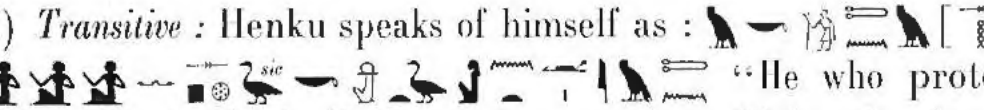
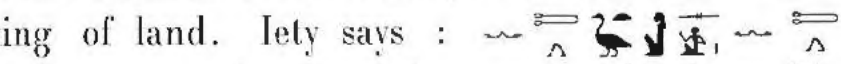
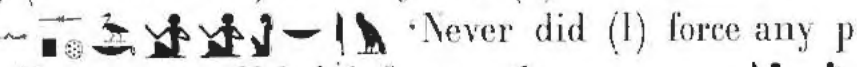
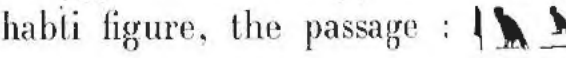
with funerary service. These were not, however, the *iswww* mentioned by Dr. Junker, *Giza*, III, pp. 179-180, where the work allotted to them is of an indoor nature, in all likelihood because they are dwarfs [1].

Thus, *iswww* seems to mean the 'equivalents' [2]; about their marks see p. 68 below.

II. *B3K*

Verbal meanings :

In order to understand the meaning of this term, its verbal meanings, both transitive and intransitive, must be first discussed.

(A) *Transitive :* Henku speaks of himself as :  "He who protects you in the [council] of officials ([*sḫ*] *n srw*), never have (I) forced a daughter of any one of you to work" [3]. Here *b3k* is a transitive verb used with the sense of putting somebody to work, without consulting him. The girl could have been taken without the approval of her parents. That a girl could be taken in this manner is evident in *Cairo* 20001, where this action stands in parallel with the taking of land. Iety says :  '(I) have not taken away a daughter of a man, neither have (I) taken away his land' [4]. Not only could girls be so dealt with, but also people in general : 'Never did (I) (*i. e.* Nekhebu) beat any man (?) there so that he fell through my action'.  'Never did (I) force any people there to work' [5]. Also, on an Ushabti figure, the passage : 

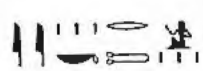
[1] The exact meaning seems to have escaped Dr. Junker. He renders it 'Zwerg-Diener', *i. e.* dwarf-servant, which is etymologically not defensible. Since none of the persons represented on the Cairo stela is a dwarf, that cannot be the meaning.

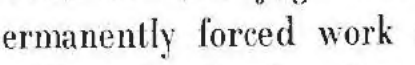
[2] Professor Blackman suggests that the ending *w* in O. K. could be that of a *nisbé* form ; in which case the meaning would be 'the exchanged ones' lit: 'those pertaining to the price given in exchange', cf. *Egn. Gr.*, § 79 *obs.*

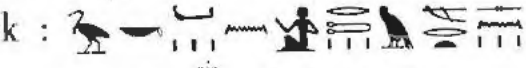
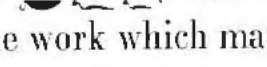
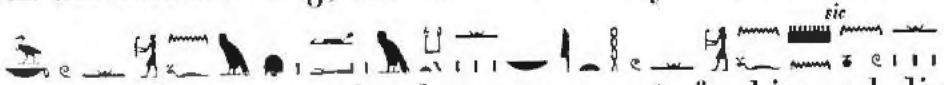
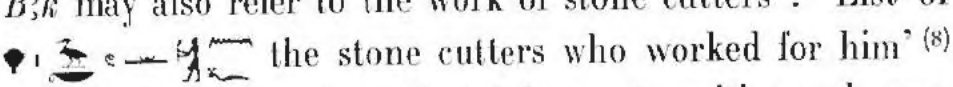
[3] *Urk.* I, 77, 3-4—notice the determinative of *b3k*.

[4] *Mél. Maspero* I, 1, p. 138.

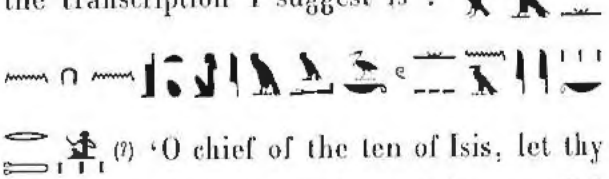
[5] *Urk.* I, 217, 4-5 ; compare Dunham's translation, *JEA* 24, 5. Similar idea in *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 8, 18-19 'There was not an overseer of the five whose men I took for work',

 [1] 'Let thy men (?) work' [1] suggests that the men were forced to work.

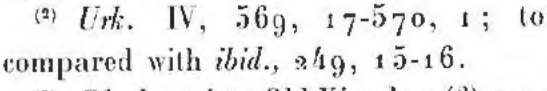
However, it is not possible to draw the conclusion that permanent forced work was meant. On the other hand, subjugated countries could be regarded as being in a state of permanently forced work :  'Thou (*i. e.* the king) guidest the lands, thou exploitest (*i. e.* forcest to work) the foreign lands' [2]. In similar texts, the transitive verb *b;k* may be translated by 'force to work' rather than 'tax' or 'pay tribute' [3].

(B) *Intransitive* : Used intransitively, *b;k* refers, more often than not, to voluntary (*i. e.* not forced) work :  'The people work for me as they desire' [4]; 'let us work for the official' [5]. Also in the story of Sinube, 'O great God (the king) equal of Rēʿ in giving counsel to  him who works for himself' [6]. However, in the case of a king, the work which may have been forced, may be specified :  'Work for him as one man in every work : drag monuments for him and dig canals for him' [7]. *B;k* may also refer to the work of stone cutters : 'List of  the stone cutters who worked for him' [8].

It is clear, therefore, that *b;k* as a transitive verb may mean 'to force to work'. In its intransitive use, it means 'to serve' (or to work for) a person or a king. This service may be either of the nature of forced labour, temporary or permanent, or simply an ordinary employment.

[1] Brunton-Engelbach, *Gurob*, pl. 46, no. 6 ; the transcription I suggest is :  (?) 'O chief of the ten of Isis, let thy men (?) work'. Since *ḥ;ty n* 10 is preceded by an article, it should be vocative.

[2] *Urk.* IV, 569, 17-570, 1 ; to be compared with *ibid.*, 249, 15-16.

[3] *Cf.* also a late Old Kingdom (?) example, *AJSL* 38, 57, line 6 : Djemy says :  '(I) have forced the people of Wawat to work for every chief'.

[4] *Urk.* IV, 132, 5.

[5] *Paheri*, pl. 3.

[6] *MES*, 33, 14.

[7] *Harris I*, LXXIX, 10-11.

[8] *P. Salt*, 124, *rt.* ii, 10 ; *ditto. rt.* ii, 19 'The workmen were working on the plaited bed of the deputy of the temple of Amūn'.

Noun :

The conclusion just drawn perhaps throws light on the use of *b;k* as a noun; it should refer to a person working of his own will or forced to work (*i. e.* enslaved) for others. The use of this term, which bears on the subject under consideration, covers the whole period we are dealing with.

Such *Old Kingdom* passages as : 'The king praised me... more than any official of his, more than any noble of his, more than any *b;k* of his' [1] perhaps shows that *b;k* includes *sr* and *s'ḫ*, since in relation to the king, all classes were regarded as his subjects, and hence his *b;kw*. But *b;k* may also be taken here as representing the lower ranks in the service of the king in contrast to *sr* and *s'ḫ*, representing the higher ranks. That *b;k* cannot mean a slave in such cases is evident from an example where a *b;k* married the king's daughter [2]—he was thus simply regarded as one in the service of the king.

The nature of this relation to the king is, indeed, not sufficiently defined, and this may also apply to the *b;k* of an individual. 'I do not allow', says X, '[my children, or my brothers] or my sisters... to have disposal of... anything which I have constituted for them to make *prt-ḫrw* for me therewith ...whether a *b;k* of them (*i. e.* the people mentioned above) [or a *b;kt* of them] ...over-and-above making *prt-ḫrw* for me therewith' [3].

However, *Middle Kingdom* examples throw more light on the nature of the relation of a *b;k* to an individual—he may now be regarded as a slave. 'I have acquired 3 *b;kw* and 7 *b;kwt* in addition to that which my father gave me' [5]. Similarly,

[1] *Urk.* I, 105, 18-106, 2; also *ibid.*, 99, 7-8; 101, 6-7. *Cf.* also the Middle Kingdom example which reads : 'Never had the like happened to (any) servants (*b;kw*) whom their masters had praised' — *Beni Hasan I*, 25, III (*Egn. Gr.* § 484).

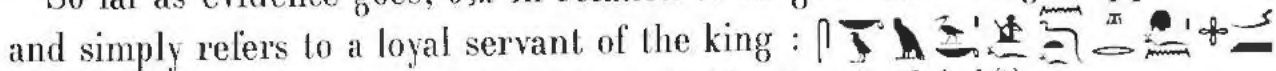
[2] *Urk.* I, 52, 17. Shepsesptaḥ was *špss ḫr nsw r b;k nb* 'honoured by the king more than any *b;k* (*ibid.*, 52, 5); similar passages : *ibid.*, 53, 5; 81, 6; 82, 4; 83, 8.

[3] *Urk.* I, p. 11, 14 to p. 12, 5.

[4] Reading for Daressy's .

[5] *Ann Serv.* 15, 207-208; this is a document from the first Intermediate Period, but the status of the *b;kw* is still not clear.

'Moreover, I have given 20 packages (?) of clothes to this mortuary priest and I have given 10 packages (?) to this lector priest and a *bꜣk* and a *bꜣkt* to each'[1]. These two examples show that a *bꜣk* or a *bꜣkt* could be acquired. Of no little interest, however, is :
'Forsooth, all female slaves are free with their tongues; when their mistress speaks, it is too more than the *bꜣkw* would stand[2]'. This passage shows that the *ḫmwt* were differentiated from the servant-class *bꜣkw*[3].

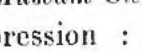
So far as evidence goes, *bꜣk* in relation to kings is still a vague appelation, and simply refers to a loyal servant of the king : 
'Behold, I am his personal *bꜣk*, his veritable chamberlain'[4].

That *bꜣk* is a general term for the servant-class, including slaves, is well evidenced in the *New Kingdom* in :
'Why has the *bꜣkt* who was with me been taken away and given to another? Am I not thy *bꜣk*, hearkening to thy commands by night as well as by day?'[5]. The tone of the letter shows that the sender is writing to a superior, and it is unlikely that a slave is writing to his master. The second *bꜣk* is a polite expression used, in reference to oneself[6], in communications with equals and superiors. The first *bꜣk*, however, denotes a person in servile status, who had been given to the sender. A still clearer example of the usages of *bꜣk* is provided by *P. Salt* 124. On the *rt.* 1, 3 we have 'Penēb gave 5 *bꜣkw* of my father to Prēemḥeb, who was then a vizier'; but, towards the end of the papyrus namely *vs.* 1, 17, 'They feared him and he began to throw stones at the *bꜣkw* of the village'—here *bꜣkw* may be a term covering the entire servant-class[7]. Similar implication is supplied by : 'I occupy

(1) *Mortuary Contract*, 12-13.

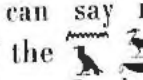
(2) *Admonitions*, iv., 13-14.

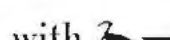
(3) See discussions on *ḫm*, pp. 29-33 below.

(4) *British Museum Stelae I*, pl. 49, 4. *Cf.* also the expression :  Cairo 21531 ; *Hammâmât*, 87, 1-2 ; 104, 2 ; 113, 15 ; 114, 3, 16 ; 123, 1.

(5) *P. Louvre* 3230 *b*, 2-3. See also p. 78 below.

(6) It corresponds to *bꜣk im*, frequently used in the Middle Kingdom.

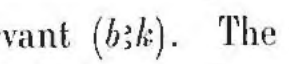
(7) On p. 250 of *JEA* 15, Dr. Černý states that he can say nothing about the exact nature of the  —see also p. 87 below.

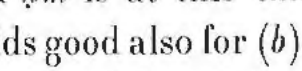
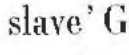
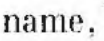
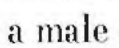
my place in (?)... with (*i. e.* servants)  = similar to *b;k im* «myself» '[1]; and 'The land of Egypt and the land of Khatti are thine, its servants (*n;y·f b;kw*) are under thy feet' [2].

Further important evidence is given by two New Kingdom legal documents :

(*a*) *P. BM.* 10052, x, 14-16 and xi, 5-6;

(*b*) *P. Cairo* 65739.

In (*a*) the vizier conducting the trial calls for the production of Painekh, the accused's servant (*b;k*). The text continues  'The slave (*ḥm*) Painekh was brought'. Thus the vizier refers to the man in general terms as standing in some relation of servitude, while the official gives the man's exact title of *ḥm*. It seems then that if the vizier is speaking correctly a *ḥm* is at this time a member of the category *b;k*.

This holds good also for (*b*), where a woman is mentioned as  'the Syrian slave' Gemniḥiamenti (ll. 4, 29) with *ḥmt ḥ;rw* placed like a title before the name, but is alluded to in (ll. 16, 19) as  'this maid-servant'; while again a male slave is mentioned as  the 'slave' Tjelptah (l. 22), and he and the girl are together alluded to as  'the servants' (l. 28).

Furthermore, in support of this view, the 'Adoption Papyrus', *rt.* 16 mentions a woman who was bought and thus regarded as a *ḥmt* 'female slave'. Afterwards, her children were emancipated. The narrative then tells us, *vs.* 5, and certainly defines their status, that these children were no longer *m-ᶜ·f m b;kw* 'with him (*i.e.* a brother of the testator) as servants'.

Again in *P. Abbott Dockets,* Sekhaḥatyamūn is referred to as *ḥm* in A, 9 and as *b;k* in B, 10.

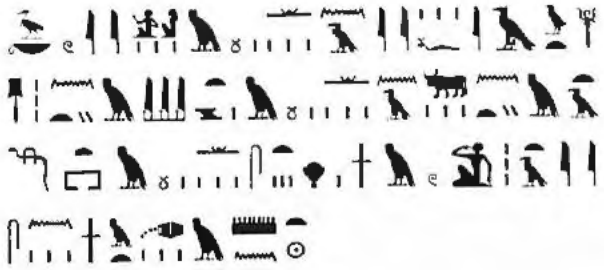
As to *P. Anastasi V,* xxi, 3 [3].

'Please write to me about thy condition and that of thy *b;kw* and anything there', *b;k* covers, in all likelihood, both categories of servants [4]. However,

[1] *Médamoud,* II, p. 54, 22.

[2] *P. Sallier III,* x, 4 in *Z Ä S* 50, 117, example 22.

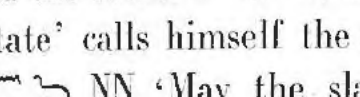
[3] *LEM,* 67, 16-68, 2.

[4] Similarly, *LEM,* 81, 2-4


in *P. Anastasi V*, XIX, 6 ff. [1] it is not clear whether the two *b;kw* who ran away from the field were slaves [2].

Later, in some settlements of the reign of Darius which contained lists of property, the *b;k* was included and disposed of like the house, cattle, corn and land [3].

In the deeds of voluntary servitude, persons of either sex call themselves *b;kw*. For certain reasons they reduce themselves to the status of slavery proper [4]. It is noteworthy that, in the demotic *Book of the Dead* of Pamonth [5] which contains a version of the so-called negative confession, the word *ḥm* in the passage *n sḏw-i ḥm n ḥry tp-f* 'I have not slandered a slave to his master' is replaced by *b;k*, clearly for the demotic scribe *ḥm* was a dead word [6].

As to *b;k n pr-ḏt*, it is the normal introductory formula of the Middle Kingdom letters [7]. The same form of address was used in a communication to king Amenḥotep IV [8]. It is only a polite expression, like *b;k ỉm*, and means the 'servant of the estate'. Of no little interest is a passage in which the 'servant of the estate' calls himself the slave (*ḥm*); it reads :  NN 'May the slave of the king, servant of the estate, NN, have the *prt-ḫrw* of the spirits' [9].

Also, the expression *b;k ỉm* does not really imply a slave, since it is found in texts where this meaning is out of question; it is, in fact, a polite circumlocution for 'I' or 'me'. Its use covers a period from the Old Kingdom down to the XXVth Dynasty [10]. The corresponding feminine expression is known to me in one example 'this servant' [11]. This same document gives the title *b;kt nt pr-ḏt*, in l. 12.

[1] *LEM*, 66, 15-67, 2.

[2] See also p. 7 above.

[3] Most references are given in *JEA* 26, 74, no. C.

[4] See pp. 8, 9 above and the treatment of this question in 119 ff. below.

[5] Cf. LEXA, *Das Demotische Todtenbuch*, p. 10 = Pap. I, 32.

[6] See also p. 32 below, n. 2; Professor Gunn drew my attention to this reference.

[7] *Briefe aus Illahun; Kahun*, pls. 27-37; *MES*, 33, 2; cf. GARDINER, *Notes on... Sinuhe*, p. 77.

[8] *Kahun*, pl. 38.

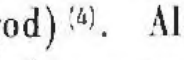
[9] Cairo 42221, *e*, 1—XXIInd Dynasty.

[10] *Urk.* I, 127, 12; 140, 3. 11; *MES*, 33, 3. 11. 13; *Médamoud* II, p. 54; *Urk.* III, 43, 9; 49, 11; for other references see *Wb. Belegst.* I, 429, 8.

[11] *Boulaq* VIII, pl. 39—VIth Dynasty.

Titles :

It remains to discuss the meaning of *b;k* in titles in relation to a god and his institution. A *b;k* of a god occurs once in the Middle Kingdom [1], and once in the XVIIIth Dynasty [2]. In these cases, it simply means a 'servant'. However, *b;k* is frequently used in demotic texts. In *Bürgschaftsurkunden,* p. 36, Sethe remarks that, in almost all cases known to him, the title is accompanied by another occupation, *e. g.* *ʿm* 'herdsman (?)' or *wȝḏʿ* 'tiller of fields'—the latter being a hereditary tenant of the temple land. This view is also supported by Spiegelberg, *Die Dem. Pap. Hauswaldt,* 2*. In discussing *bk,* Sir H. Thompson adds [3] that 'it may be that the title of *bk* of a great god was sought after as a title of honour by persons of position, *e. g.* in BM. 10240 ...one of the parties to a lease is a "divine father (and) servant (*bk*) of Amon at Thebes".'

According to the *Wb. Belegst.* I, 429, 11 (a god) occurs once in the XXth Dynasty. Since the text is yet unpublished, the title cannot be explained. It is also difficult to explain the title *b;k* (with a woman determinative)  (god) [4]. Although the meaning of *ỉpw* here is as yet not well established, other occurrences [5] seem to indicate the translation 'servant (in charge) of the survey-record of' the god. The woman who held this title was also a songstress.

Attention may be drawn to *bkt s-ḥmt,* which occurs in a Ptolemaic document, P. BM 10622, l. 7, to denote a female slave [6].

Lastly, it is interesting to notice that the Coptic word ⲃⲱⲕ means either 'servant' or 'slave' [7]. But Crum points out that in Sa'idic it is mostly replaced by ϩⲙⲛⲁⲗ.

To sum up

The meaning given to the substantive of *b;k* is based on the verb, which connotes voluntary or forced labour, mainly for others. From the Middle

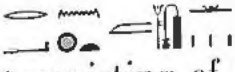
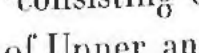
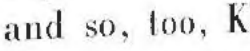
[1] Cairo 20281.
[2] *BIFAO* 28, 185, 2.
[3] *JEA* 26, 74.
[4] Budge, *Greenfield Papyrus,* pl. 2, 2-3.
[5] *Tomb Robberies,* pls. 23, A 7; 31, IX, 1; *Inscrip. Dédic.,* 1. 84; P. Mook (*ZÄS* 63, 166, l. 5); *P. Leiden,* I 350, III, 9.
[6] See discussions p. 77 below.
[7] Cf. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary,* p. 30.

Kingdom, we find cases of a *bꜣk* being granted to others. However, in two legal documents of the Ramesside Period, it seems that a distinction is drawn between *bꜣk* and *ḫm*—the former being a more general term including the latter. Later, in the deeds of voluntary servitude, *bꜣk* becomes the only term to indicate one who, for certain reasons, reduces him—or herself to the status of a slave.

Particularly in the Old Kingdom, *bꜣk* includes high officials in their relation to the king. In some cases it is a term for 'servant' or 'subject', or merely a polite mode of reference to oneself.

The usage of this term extends over the whole period we are dealing with.

III. *MR(Y)T* etc. [1]

To these *mr(y)t* an XVIIIth Dynasty text refers as *iḫt* 'property' :  'I have given property in writing', says a king's scribe, 'consisting of my land,  and my cattle for the statue of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt NN' [2]. That the *mr(y)t* could be acquired by bequest or other arrangement agrees with evidence in an earlier document of the XIth Dynasty. Samentuser says : 'I have been one who is clever and one who controls his until the day comes wherein it is well with me, I have given them to my son in a conveyance (*imyt-pr*)' [3]. Sobekʿa says : 'I have, indeed, acquired with the knowledge of officials' [4]; and so, too, Khnemḥotp :  'I have appointed a *ka*-servant and enriched him with land and *mr(y)t*' [5]. The possession of *mr(y)t* by individuals can be traced back to the Old Kingdom—they belonged to a 'king's wife' 'king's son and daughter' and to a 'companion' or an 'official' [6].

In the Old Kingdom the *mr(y)t* were put to work in the 'cultivation' [7], or were simply shown as offering-bearers [8]. They were also assigned

[1] See various writings, pp. 24, 25 below.

[2] *Tarkhan* I, pl. 80, 22.

[3] *Mél. Maspero* I, p. 554.

[4] *British Museum Stelae* I, pl. 54. As this publication is inaccurate, reference should be made to *Admonitions*, p. 81.

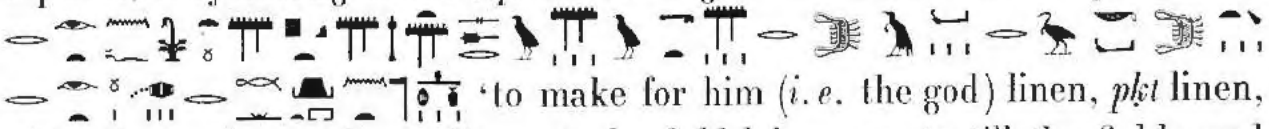
[5] *Urk.* VII, 29, 15-16.

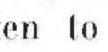
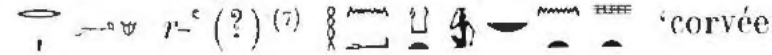
[6] *Urk.* I, 210, 14-16.

[7] *Urk.* I, 210, 14.

[8] *Ann. Serv.* 3, 256 ; also *Meir* IV, pl. 9.

to the *'pr-šn'*, [1] *pr-dt* [2] and *ꜣḫt-nṯr'* [3]. Their work was apparently only rural [4].

However, New Kingdom texts show that, besides being recruited from captives, they belong to the *ḥtp-nṯr* of the god [5]. Their work is specified as  'to make for him (*i.e.* the god) linen, *pḳt* linen, white linen, *šrw* and *wmt* linen, to be field-labourers, to till the fields and to grow corn in order to fill the granaries of the god's revenue (*ḥtp-nṯr*)' [6].

Particularly in the Old Kingdom, they are protected by royal decrees from being taken to  *r-ᶜ* (?) [7]  'corvée (?) and any work of the nome' [8].

The modes of their acquisition—by bequest, with the knowledge of officials or as war captives,—the compulsory nature of their work and their apparently permanent relation, as *iḫt*, to their master and the land, suggest that they should be classed as slaves, assigned particularly to land work. 'Serfs', being, at least theoretically, free persons, is, therefore, an inappropriate translation of *mr(y)t* [9].

The word appears in titles *only* in the Old Kingdom : *sš mr(y)t* 'scribe of the slaves' [10]; *imy-r iswy mr(y)t* 'overseer of the two departments of the slaves' [11]; *imy-r wpwt mr(y)t ꜣḫt*... 'overseer of the census of the slaves and the fields...' [12].

For the *writing* of the word see discussion on *N-ḏ(y)t*, pp. 39, 40 below.

[1] *Urk.* I, 291, 3, 8. See also the discussion on *pr-šn'*, 41 ff.

[2] *Urk.* I, 144, 14; 303, 7; *Ann. Serv.* 3, 256.

[3] *Urk.* I, 171, 7-8.

[4] This is due to the economic back ground—cf. pp. 2-4 above.

[5] *Urk.* IV, 1102, 15; 172, 2; 72, 5-6; *Ann. Serv.* 27, 217. In one example from the Old Kingdom, *mr(y)t* is found in connection with *ḥtp-nṯr* : Cairo 219.

[6] *Urk.* IV, 742, 10-743, 1. See also p. 26 (*b*), below.

[7] The spelling of this word calls for a remark. The last sign is perhaps a separate word following *r-ᶜ* (?).

[8] *Urk.* I, 172, 1-3. This quotation suggests that the *mr(y)t* could be engaged in other kinds of work; but as there is no evidence as to the nature of this work, it may be assumed that it was rural.

[9] See p. 8 above.

[10] *Teti Cemet.* I, p. 192; the suggested translation is : 'scribe of "serfs" (?)'.

[11] *Mastabas*, p. 125.

[12] *Liv. Ann.* 4, p. 104; cf. also pp. 103. 110.

To sum up

Mr(y)t is a feminine collective written with the sign and known from the Old Kingdom onwards. During the XVIIIth Dynasty, this writing is confused with the next one (written with the sign).

In the Old and Middle Kingdoms the *mr(y)t* are found belonging to individuals, *pr-ḏt* and religious institutions. They are frequently mentioned with land and cattle, and special offices for registration are mentioned in connection with them. In the New Kingdom they were recruited from captives.

Various writings and titles

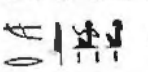
MR(Y)T

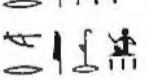
Urk. I, 137, 8.

Rec. tr. 23, 167.

Liv. Ann. 4, 104.

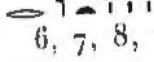
Urk. I, 18, 6.

 *Urk.* III, 76, 13.

 *ZÄS* 22, p. 39, l. 7.

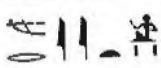
BIFAO 40, p. 39.

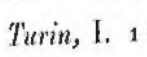
Ch. Beatty, IX, *rt.* 12, ll. 2, 6, 7, 8, 11.

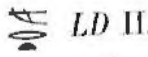
 *Abydos*, I, pl. 7, 70.

Urk. VII, 42, 2.

Turin, I. 12 (Liebes poesie, p. 39).

 *LD* II, 64 *b*.

 *Urk.* I. 210, 14.

 *Teti Cemet.* I, p. 192.

Mél. Maspero I, 2, p. 554.

Urk. I, 144, 13.

Meir IV, pl. 11.

Urk. I, 280, 18.

Urk. I, 171, 7; 172, 1; 247, 11 (); 289, 14; 294, 5.

Mastabas, pp. 125, 230, 243.
Liv. Ann. 4, pp. 103, 110.
Cairo no. 219.
Saqqara II, p. 13.
Ann. Serv. 3, p. 256.
BM. Stelae I, pl. 54.
Turin (*Cat. Gen.* no. 1447).
Urk. IV, 1102, 15.
Ann. Serv. 27, p. 217.

Urk. I, 303, 7.

MES, p. 29, 14.
Cairo, nos. 20499, 20504.
Brunner, *Texte aus Siut*, p. 43 *b*.
Kahun, pl. I, 9.
Urk. VII, 26, 4; 29, 16.
Neferḥotep, pl. C, ll. 29, 30.
Admonitions, IX, 5.
JEA 3, p. 106 — Florence 1505.
Amenemḥēt, pl. 25, l. 8.

Tarkhan, I, pls. 79, 10; 80, 22.
Urk. IV, 58, 9; 72, 5; 102, 15; 172, 6 (restored); 185, 11 (restored); 207, 10; 329, 11; 742, 12.
Varille, *Karnak*, pl. 28.
Medamoud II, p. 54, 6.

Nav., *Todtenbuch* I, pl. 97 (85, 5).
Cairo 1707, 4 (unpublished).
Abydos, II, pl. 3.
Med. Habu, pl. 106, 47.

Titles

Mastabas, p. 125 (cf. *Saqqara* II, p. 13.
Mastabas, p. 230.
LD II, 64, *b*.

Mastabas, p. 243.
Teti Cemet. I, p. 192.
... *Liv. Ann.* 4, 104.

IV. *MR(T)*, etc. [1]

Unlike the preceding term, the people so designated are not mentioned in connection with land and cattle, and are frequently assigned to the god's estate (*pr*) [2], or belonging to individuals [3].

The rarity of the occurrence of a final *t* in the writing of the word is not sufficient evidence that it should be regarded as masculine [4]; indeed, in the XIXth Dynasty it is found preceded by the feminine article *t3*, which indicates that *mr(t)* is a feminine singular collective [5].

Spiegelberg's suggestion that the sign represents a weaver's comb, and hence *mr(t)* would mean 'weaver' [6] may be regarded as plausible in view of a passage, which he does not quote, occurring in the *Inscrip. Dédic.*, l. 88 'being assessed for linen for thy (*i. e.* the god's) wardrobe'. The same text gives the other word , l. 72, in connection with land and cattle—this appears to put beyond doubt the difference of the occupations connected with the two categories, as if

[1] See 'various writings', pp. 27-29 below.
[2] *Harris* I, a VI, 10; *LEM*, 73, 14; *Top. Cat.* no. 133.
[3] Cf. *LEM*, pp. 73, 74 and p. 38, 4-5 in connection with the enquiry after them.
[4] See 'various writings', pp. 27-29 below.
[5] See no. 3 above.
[6] *ZÄS* 45, 88.

based on the writing of the terms. However, that the sign represents a weaver's comb is doubtful for the following reasons :

(*a*) The sign is once replaced by a garden pool full of water [1]—to be compared with [2] and Junker's explanation in *Gîza* III, p. 211—in the Old Kingdom, or by a pool with sloping sides [3], in the New Kingdom.

(*b*) More often than not is followed by the determinative or [4].

It is, therefore, unlikely that represents a weaver's comb [5]—it stands simply for the phonetic *mr(t)*.

An examination of the material of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties shows that :

(*a*) The *mr(t)* sometimes work under a woman-overseer (*ḫryt*) [6].

(*b*) In the Annals of Thutmosis III [7] (an example quoted by Spiegelberg, see p. 25 above, n. 6), the *mr(y)t* were assigned to making different kinds of linen, in addition to their land work. Such interchange of words may be due to the fact that both *mr(y)t* and *mr(t)* could, at that period, be attached to an institution of the god.

(*c*) Once the *mr(t)* are found granted to an individual : '150 *mr(t)* have been given to me' [8]. Otherwise, their relation to individuals is not clearly defined, neither is the nature of their work [9].

Judging from their relation to temples and individuals and from the nature of their work, these *mr(t)* seem to stand on a different footing from the *mr(y)t*. Since they could be granted and owned, it is justifiable to regard them as 'domestic slaves' with weaving as part of their work.

[1] Junker, *Gîza Vorbericht* (1927), p. 107.

[2] *Mastabas*, p. 307; also Junker, *op. cit.* (preceding note).

[3] *Médamoud* II, p. 54, 16-17.

[4] See 'various writings', pp. 27-29 below.

[5] Cf. *Egn. Gr.*, sign-list no. 36. In the *Inscrip. Dédic.*, p. 71, Gauthier suggests that is probably derived from , Coptic мογр 'to bind', for which suggestion no evidence is forthcoming.

[6] *Cones*, nos. 7, 39, 542, belonging to the same woman.

[7] See p. 23 above, no. 6.

[8] *Médamoud* II, p. 54—these *mr(t)* were captives.

[9] See p. 25 above, no. 3.

Mr(t) is more frequently found in titles than *mr(y)t*. These titles read either *imy-r mr(t)* or *ḫry mr(t)* (n + god, or his temple, or king) [1].

This word should not be confused with one similarly written which means 'friend' [2]. This latter is evidently a masculine word—examples of the singular occur only late [3].

To sum up

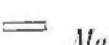
Mr(t) is a singular feminine collective word written with the sign ═, and does not occur earlier than the Middle Kingdom. It cannot be established with certainty that persons so called worked particularly at weaving, which may, however, have been part of their diverse occupations. They are organised under 'overseers', males and females,—but they are not mentioned in connection with registration.

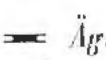
Both the *mr(y)t* and the *mr(t)* may rightly be regarded as slaves put to work especially on land and given other work attached to the *šn*ᶜ. The *mr(t)* sometimes have domestic work.

Various writings and titles

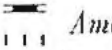
MR(T)

Junker, *Giza Vorbericht* (1927), p. 107.

 *Mastabas*, p. 307.

 *Äg. Inschrr.*, I, pp. 223, 224, 225. Cones, nos. 49, 50, 165, 520 (?). *Urk.* IV, 1052, 6.

Amenemḥēt, pl. 7. *Urk.* IV, 1055, 3.

 *Amenemḥēt*, pl. 7; *Urk.* IV, 1046, ll. 6, 14; 1047, ll. 4, 11; 1048, ll. 2, 8; 1050, 11; 1051, 1; 1052, 16; Nav., *Todtenbuch* I (*Einleitung*), p. 110.

Urk. II, 217, 4.

Inschrr. hiérogl., II, 66, 8.

Inschrr. hiérogl., II, 131, 4.

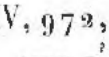
Urk. III, 23, 7; Kairo (102) (See *Wb.*).

Edfou, I, p. 443, 7.

Cones, nos. 106, 542.

Sethe, *Einsetzung Viziers*, p. 65, 3.

[1] See Titles, pp. 28, 29 below.

[2] *Urk.* IV, 972, 1 (); *P. Peter.*, pl. 10, 10 ( ).

[3] *Urk.* III, 23, 7 (); *Urk.* II, 217, 4 (); Cairo 102 () —see *Wb. Belegst.* II, 98, 9.

Siut, pl. 17, 59; *Urk.* IV, 120, 3; 405, 14; 408, 3; 1179, 5; Cones, nos. 39, 158, 274, 343, 406; *JEA* 3, p. 256; *Top. Cat.,* tomb no. 133; *Ann. Serv.* 6, p. 84, ll. 12, 19-20; *Cairo,* no. 579 (ref. on p. 129); *Rec. Ég.* (N. Série), 1, p. 5; *Médamoud* II, p. 54 ( ); Budge, *Book of the Dead* (text), p. 407.

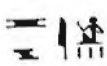
 Briefe aus Illahun, no. 10021.

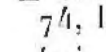
Rec. tr. 16, p. 70.

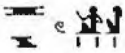
Briefe aus Illahun, no. 10021; *MES,* p. 28 (var.).

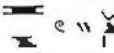
MES, p. 28 (R); *Urk.* IV, 972, 1. *P. Peter.,* 1116 A, *rt.* ll. 10, 13, 22, 24, 57 (restored), 100, 105; P. Prisse, pl. 1, 12; *ZÄS* 34, 40; *Mél. Maspero* I, 2, p. 481; Budge, *Egn. Reading,* p. 242, 11.

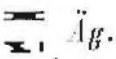
 LEM, 38, 5.

 *LEM,* 38, 5; 73, ll. 10, 11, 14; 74, ll. 1, 2; 75, 4; 81, 14; *Tomb Robberies, P.* 10053, IV, 15; V, 3; VI, 10.

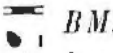
 *Ostr. Gardiner,* 28 (cf. *LEM,* 38, 5 C).

 *P. Peter.* 1116 A, *rt.* ll. 10 (?), 100.

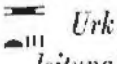
 (dual) *P. Peter.* 1116 A, *rt.* l. 25.

 *Äg. Inschrr.* I, p. 225; *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 29; Cairo, no. 20431, *h* and *i; Book of the Dead* (text), p. 498.

Abydos I, pl. 8, 88; *Ann. Serv.* 6, pp. 83, 4; 84, ll. 15, 16, 18; Moscow, 4658, = 24/25 (cf. *P. Peter.*).

 *BM. Stelæ* VIII, p. 50 (the line of the *t* is rather going upwards).

Äg. Inschrr. I, 223; *Ibid.,* II, p. 208.

 *Urk.* IV, 41, 5; Nav., *Todtenbuch* (*Einleitung*), p. 99.

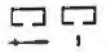
Paheri, pl. 3. Cones, nos. 7, 39, 362.

Abydos Saal, T (69) (see *Wb.*); *Ibid.,* O (53) (see *Wb.*).

 Nauri Stela, l. 27.

Titles

Junker, *Gizeh Vorbericht* (1927), p. 107.

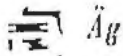
 *Mastabas,* p. 307.

Äg. Inschrr. I, p. 224.

Briefe aus Illahun, no. 10021 (var.).

Äg. Inschrr. I, pp. 223, 225 ()

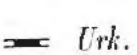
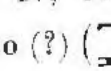
Cones, no. 334; *Season,* pl. 23, no. 106.

 *Äg. Inschrr.* I, p. 225; *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 29.

Cairo, no. 20431, *h* and *i.*

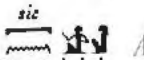
Äg. Inschrr. I, p. 223.

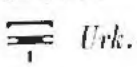
Cones, no. 165.

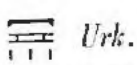
 *Urk.* IV, 1052, 6; Cones, nos. 49, 50, 520 (?) (, read ).

Cones, no. 106.

Cairo, no. 579 (ref. on p. 129); *Urk.* IV, 405, 14; 408, 3; Cones, nos. 58, 274, 406; *JEA* 3, p. 256; *Top. Cat.*, tomb no. 133; Legrain, *Repert. Général*, p. 63 (cf. *Urk.* IV, 1179, 5); *Rev. Eg.* (N. Série) I, p. 5. *Ann. Serv.* 6, p. 84, l. 19.

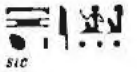
 *Ann. Serv.* 6, p. 84, l. 12.

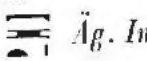
 *Urk.* IV, 1055, 3; *Amenemḥēt*, pl. 7.

 *Urk.* IV, 1046, ll. 6, 14; 1047, ll. 4, 11; 1048, ll. 2, 8; 1050, ll. 1, 11; 1052, 16; *Amenemḥēt*, pl. 7; Nav., *Todtenbuch (Einleitung)*, p. 110.

Ann. Serv. 6, pp. 83, 4; 84, ll. 15, 16, 18.

Tomb Robberies, P. 10053, IV, 15; V, 3; VI, 10.

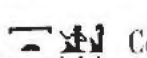
 *BM. Stelae*, VIII, p. 50.

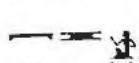
 *Äg. Inschrr.* II, p. 208.

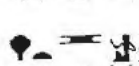
Nav., *Todtenbuch (Einleitung)*, p. 99.

Paheri, pl. 3; Cones, no. 362.

Cones, no. 542.

 Cones, no. 39.

 Cones, no. 7.

 Cones, no. 39.

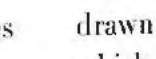
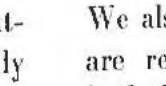
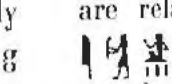
V. *ḤM* [1]

The discussion of the meaning 'body' of *ḥm* will be omitted, as it has been fully treated by Spiegel [2]. *Ḥm* with a meaning within the scope of this investigation occurs once in the *Old Kingdom :* 'Winnowing the spelt by the *ḥmw* of the king' [3]. These *ḥmw* should not be confused with the *nswtyw* 'crown-people' [4]. While the former were represented

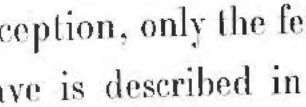
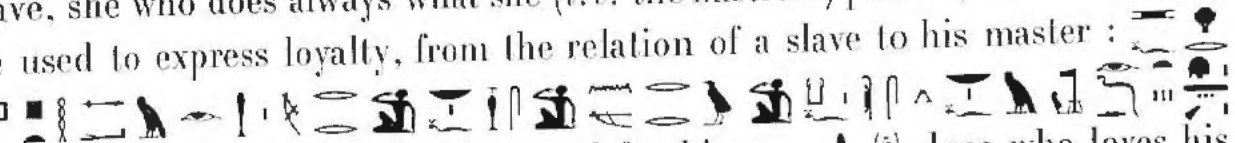
[1] This should be read in conjunction with has been written on *bȝk* and *ḥm* in legal documents, pp. 19. 20 above.

[2] Cf. *ZÄS* 75, 112 ff; the author does not entirely agree with Spiegel's conclusions. However, any treatment of this point is outside the scope of this Thesis. If *ḥm* originally meant 'body', then 'slave', it is interesting to note that an analogous situation occurs in Greek with σῶμα.

[3] Davies, *Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said*, pl. 16, 4th register.

[4] *Urk.* I. 2, 8; 4, 8; read also Junker, *Giza* III, 172-173. Attention should be drawn to  , *Urk.* I, 295, 4, which is perhaps to be read *rmṯ nsw n pr-šn' pn*. We also hesitatingly suggest that the *nswtyw* are related to  (var. ) *nywswt* (?) who were probably people holding some sort of sacerdotal functions—cf. *JEA* 11, 214.

working on the field of an official, the latter were known to possess land and dispose of it by sale [1]. Probably, the *ḫmw nsw* 'crown slaves' were people, attached to local crown properties, lent to a provincial magnate, or as in the XIth Dynasty, acting as king's deputies carrying the *ḫtp-di-nsw* [2].

Middle Kingdom documents are also silent as to the status of the *ḫm;* and it is interesting to notice that the word occurs as a title and that, with one exception, only the feminine *ḫmt* is found [3]. In Louvre stela C. 15, a female slave is described in similar terms to those who serve the king [4] :  NN 'Her (*i. e.* his beloved wife's) beloved personal female slave, she who does always what she (*i. e.* the mistress) praises, NN'. *Ḥm* may be used to express loyalty, from the relation of a slave to his master :  His beloved, the steward Ptaḥ'o, acted for him as a [5] does who loves his master, favourite of him whom his *ka* loves, who follows his lord in the Necropolis [6], who did what was commanded upon earth' [7].

In almost all examples the *ḫmwt* are represented as bearers of offerings.

In *Cairo* 20227 and 20549, the female slaves are mentioned together with the *ʿ3mwt*, who are probably enslaved Asiatics. The *ḫmwt* mentioned in parallel to the enslaved Asiatics may, in such cases, have been native slaves. However, a single example on the stela of Dedsobk shows that a *ḫmt* may be foreign. The text runs : 'His female slave of Pwenet, NN' [8].

Thus, in the Old and Middle Kingdoms the evidence is meagre on the subject of slavery proper.

(1) The only example known to me occurs in Metjen's inscription, see p. 29 above, n. 4.

(2) *Courtiers,* pls. 22, 24. Cf. also a New Kingdom example *Urk.* IV, 1006, 17. A XXIInd Dynasty example may also be added, see p. 20 above, n. 7.

(3) The references known to me are : Louvre C. 15 ; *Cairo* 20088 *k,* 20098 *d, e,* 20227 *k,* 20345 *g,* 20392 *e,* 20427 *b, e,* 20470 *f,* 20515 *e,* 20535 *g,* 20549 *d, e,* 20598 *c; BIFAO* 30, 111 ; *Ptaḥḥotep* 59 (cf. *Egn. Gr.* § 462)—not as a title; for a man slave, *BIFAO* just quoted— also, but *not* as a title, no. 5 below.

(4) As in the examples : Drioton, *Une Figuration Cryptographique du Moyen Empire,* in *Rev. Eg.* I (1933), 227 ; *BM Stelae* I, pl. 49, l. 4—see also p. 18 above, no. 4.

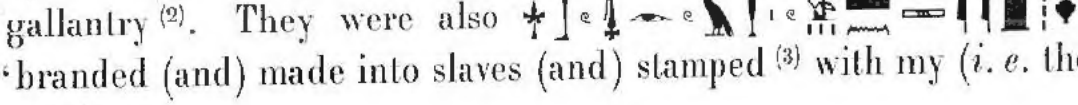
(5) Here *ḫm* is not a title.

(6) This perhaps means that Ptaḥ'o caused himself to be buried near his master.

(7) *Cairo* 20578.

(8) *BIFAO* 30, 111.

With the advent of the *XVIIIth Dynasty*, *ḥm* appears from all the evidence to have become the term for slave proper *par excellence*. In P. Berlin 9785 Ḥat approached Mesi with the intention of getting cows in exchange for a female slave (*ḥmt*), whom he describes as *ḥmt NN n·i ỉmy* 'my own female slave, NN'. Ḥat then said : *rdỉ·n·i swnt n'y·f ỉḫw* 'I have given the price of his (Mesi's) cattle'. In addition to this, the owner of a slave may let out the slave's services. The *Bryce Tablet* deals with a hire (*swnt*) made by Nesesi and her brother for ten days' service of a slave (*ḥm*). This hiring shows the right of usufruct which the master of a slave enjoys.

That there was a slave-trade is proved by P. Cairo 65739 : 'The merchant Rē'ia approached me with the Syrian slave, NN ... (and) he said to me : "Buy this girl".' The text continues to the effect that Erēnofre purchased (*swn*) the girl and gave a price for her. For all that can be asserted to the contrary, those who are called *ḥmw* and *ḥmwt* in the New Kingdom were often foreigners who had been brought to Egypt through trade or as captives of war. As captives they were granted by the king to temples [1] or to his warriors for their gallantry [2]. They were also  'branded (and) made into slaves (and) stamped [3] with my (*i. e.* the king's) name' [4].

The documents fail to give us a true picture of the exact work to which they were assigned : either by the State or by individual owners. They were mostly put into the *šn'* [5] or to work in the Royal Necropolis [6]. However, in the decree for Amenophis, son of Ḥapu, it is stated that *ḥmw* and *ḥmwt* were forced to work on a donative land [7]. Also, in the stela belonging to the second prophet, Ḥori, such slaves, male and female, were transferred, together with land, as part of property given by a father to his family [8].

(1) E. g. *Harris*, I, LXXVI, 11 ; see also pp. 112-115 below.

(2) E. g. *Urk.* IV, 4, 11-13 ; 11, 4-14.

(3) For *mnš* meaning to stamp with the cartouche of the king see SPIEGELBERG, *ZÄS*, 43, 158. For a scene of branding cf. *Med. Habu* I, pl. 42.

(4) *Harris*, I, LXXVII, 5-6 ; similarly *Med. Habu* I, pl. 28, l. 40 ; see also p. 110 below.

(5) See p. 114 below.

(6) Examples occur in *Ostraca Deir el Médineh*, and they are mostly women—see p. 102 below.

(7) Cf. *Sitzungsb. Berlin* (1910) pl. 6 opposite p. 910, ll. 6, 13.

(8) *JEA* 24, pl. 11, 3.

However, a *ḥm* may be a land-owner [1].

The use of *ḥm* meaning 'slave' occurs mostly over the period from the XVIIIth to the XXIInd Dynasties [2]. Before this, it occurs only once in the Old Kingdom, and as a title for a female slave in the Middle Kingdom.

A conception behind *ḥm* in the titles *ḥm-nṯr* 'prophet' and *ḥm-kꜣ* '*kꜣ*-servant' is, in all likelihood, that of a certain degree of devotion and close relationship to the god and the *kꜣ* as those of a slave to his master [3].

Ushabtis.—About the New Kingdom the *Ushabti* was called *ḥm* [4]. Here, we are justified in translating *ḥm* by 'slave', for, in addition to the *ushabti*-figures being used at a period when *ḥm* definitely means 'slave', they have all the characteristics that constitute a *ḥm* proper. As the slave was bought, and this transaction was then ratified in the presence of witnesses, so was also the *ushabti*—the only difference is that divine approval had to be sought. Purchase gives also the owner of the *ushabti* the right over its services. In a curious text preserved in two copies [5], Amonrasonther decrees : 'I shall instruct the *ushabtis* which have been made for Neskhons, this daughter of Tahenthoth, so as to cause them to do everything serviceable to Neskhons, this daughter of Tahenthoth, namely every kind of thing which the *ushabtis* can do—they being things serviceable to the person who is dead'.

This conclusion holds good if the *ushabti* stands for a worker. However, there must be another implication if the *ushabti* represents the deceased himself. Dr. Gardiner raised this question in his article *A Statuette of the High Priest of Memphis, Ptaḥmose* [6], and has come to the conclusion that about the

[1] Cf. Cairo stela $\frac{23}{25}\left|\frac{6}{3}\right.$, pls. II to IV; also 84 ff. below.

[2] See preceding note; also p. 20 above no. 6. However, in *P. Rylands*, IX, 25, 7 of the XXVIIth Dynasty, the word *ḥmw* is used in a hymn to Amūn to refer, not to 'slaves', but to his 'priests', as an abbreviated form of *ḥmw-nṯr*, cf. *Wb.* III, 88.

[3] Cf. the slave's claim to be devoted to his master even after death, p. 30 above, nos. 6, 7; *Ch. Beatty*, IX, *rt.* III, 1 where the king calls himself the *ḥm* of the god; also *Book of the Dead* (text), p. 472, 2-3 where the deceased states : 'I am the slave of thy (Osiris's) temple, confidant of thy god's-house'.

[4] See Černý, *Le Caractère des Oushebtis d'après les Idées du Nouvel Empire*, in *BIFAO*, 41, 116-117.

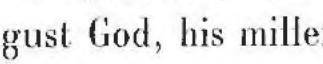
[5] The McCullum Tablet, in the *British Museum*, and the Rogers Tablet in the *Louvre* —see Černý, *op. cit.*

[6] *ZÄS* 43, 55-59.

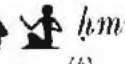
New Kingdom 'the servant figures, which had persisted beside the *šwꜣbtî*-figures, cease to be found, and are absorbed into the *šwꜣbtî*-figures, so that a confusion of ideas arises. Even late in the New Kingdom as in the passages quoted by Spiegelberg and Boeser these are occasionally thought to represent the servants of the deceased, and not the deceased himself ... At the same time the *ushebtis* were imagined to represent the dead man himself, as is clear from their portraiture, garments, and other attributes'. It is, therefore, evident that the confusion as to the real significance of these figures is due to the Egyptians themselves.

The question now arises, what is really meant by *ḫm* in two short texts discussed by Dr. Gardiner?

The first is engraved on a statuette in the Leiden Museum [1] which reads : 'He says : I am one who grinds corn for Osiris and (I am) the *ḫm* of Nut ...'.

The second occurs on a statuette in the Louvre [2] :  'I am the *ḫm* of this august God, his miller'.

The two texts suggest that these *ḫmw*, who represent high officials, were expected to grind corn for the God. In either case the idea may have been the identification of the deceased with Osiris, and the belief that the owner being identified with Osiris, his statuette would do the same service for him.

Once *ḫm* is found spelt  *ḫmw* [3], which suggests that the full form of the word had the ending *w* [4]. With regard to ϩⲙϩⲁⲗ *S*, ϩⲙϩⲉⲗ *A*, as the corresponding Coptic term for a slave (*ḫm*), it is derived from the demotic *ḫm-ḫl* [5] the 'Syrian boy'. The established fact that Akhmîmîc ϩ stands for *ḫ* and *ḥ* puts it beyond doubt that the origin of the term is not *ḫm-ḫl* the 'Syrian-slave'. In addition, it should be remembered that *ḫm* itself, meaning a slave, fell out of use after the XXIInd Dynasty [6].

(1) Capart, *Rec. de Mon.* II, 79.

(2) Pierret, *Cat. de la Salle Historique*, p. 11, no. 10.

(3) *P. Westcar*, VII, 15.

(4) Cf. *nbw* (*Urk.* I, 180, 3), Coptic ⲛⲓⲃ. which indicates that the *b* was at one time the first letter of a second syllable.

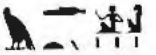
(5) See Erichsen, *Demotische Lesestücke*, I, 2, p. 59.

(6) It is true that Reich in *Papyri Juristischen Inhalts* transcribes *ḫm* and *ḫmt* as occuring in the 'abnormal hieratic' papyrus *British Museum* 10113 of XXVIth Dynasty, but the original seems to have *sn*, *snt* 'brother, sister'.

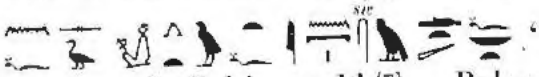
To sum up

Ḥm is not known earlier than the Middle Kingdom nor later than the XXIInd Dynasty. A male *ḥm* is rarely met with in Middle Kingdom texts. In the New Kingdom legal documents *ḥm* sometimes stands as a title. Unlike *bȝk*, the *ḥm* was often recruited from war captives, who are marked and attached to a god's temple or *šnᶜ* without any specification of their work. He was bought and his services were hired. However, a *ḥmt* may be adopted and her sons may be emancipated. A *ḥm*, on the other hand, may be a land-owner and marry a free woman.

In the Middle Kingdom, the title *ḥm-nsw* 'crown-slave' is given to people bringing offerings to the tomb owner. They may act as king's deputies carrying the *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw*.

VI. *SMDT* 

It seems justifiable to include this term in the discussion of 'Slave-Terminology', as it has been suggested that it means : 'serfs', 'Leibeigene', 'labourer' or 'staff' (1). The evidence, however, points to the fact that they form a special class of people attached to the *ḥwt* 'house', *r-pr* 'temple', *pr* 'estate' (2), *pȝ-ḫr* 'the Necropolis (?)' (3), *sḫt* 'field' (4) or to a person (5).

There are certain passages which make it doubtful to assign a meaning 'serfs', 'dependents' or the like to the world *smdt*. 'One who has been chosen out of his *smdt*, and who adheres to the paths of him who has benefited him' (6). One would not be chosen out of his serfs. Of equal importance is what Intef says of himself :  'of whom is said, "await-his-arrival" by the master of all his *smdt*' (7). Paḥeri, also, says : 'O ye living ones who are in existence, great ones and (common) people upon earth ; prophets and *wᶜb*-priests and those attached to them ; every scribe who takes his palette, wise

(1) Consider the meanings suggested by the following scholars : Griffith, *ZÄS* 34, 39 ; Spiegelberg, *Rec. tr.*, 17, 145 ; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, IV, § 402 ; Gardiner, *Ch. Beatty*, v, *rt.* vi, 2-3 ; Peet, *P. Abbott*, iv, 14 ; v, 11.

(2) *Harris*, I, lxviii *b*, 4-5.

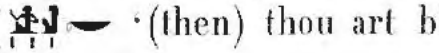
(3) *P. Abbott*, v, 11 ; *pȝ-ḫr* 'tomb of the reigning Pharaoh' or 'Necropolis' (Bibān-el-Meluk), see *JEA* 22, 186, no. 10.

(4) *Inscrip. Dédic.*, l. 72.

(5) *British Museum Stelae* II, pl. 22, l. 6.

(6) *Sinai*, pl. 10, no. 25.

(7) *British Museum Stelae* II, pl. 22.

in divine words; every clever man of his *smdt*, opening (?) his mouth in praise of his occupation ...' [1]. In all these cases, the *smdt* seemed to be on equal footing with the owners of the stelae. Later, about the XXVth Dynasty, we find in the Teaching of Amenophis, '(Even) when thou art released before thy chief  '(then) thou art blamed because of (?) thy *smdt*' [2].

Judging from the contributions (*šʒyt*) due from the *smdt*, the type of work assigned to them could be fairly mapped out [3]; they were gold-, silver- and copper-smiths, fowlers, boat-builders and linen-makers. From further details of the work in the Necropolis given in Turin Papyrus [4], they were also water-bearers, gardeners and fishermen; while from another context they were butlers, great ones and infantry, Sherdan and *ḫḥk* [5]. In the Middle Kingdom they had an *imy-r* 'overseer' or a *ḥry* 'master' [6]. They could possess land and cattle [7].

Thus, *smdt* refers to free people apparently occupying inferior positions. They form a sort of 'guild' or 'personnel' of an institution. We have also the singular expression *rmṯ smdt* a 'guildsman' [8].

The writing of *smdt* often shows a stroke which no doubt has its origin in the determinative of *smd* meaning 'eyebrow' [9]. Sometimes *smdt* is determined by the man with the hand to mouth [10]. Once it occurs without a determinative in the Middle Kingdom example () [11].

VII. *DT* AND *N-D(Y)T*

Examination of the existing material shows that *ḏt* and *n-ḏ(y)t* originate from meaning 'body', hence 'own' [12]. How far, this conclusion is justifiable will emerge from the following discussion.

[1] *Urk.* IV, 120, 16-121, 4.

[2] *JEA* 12, 211; also LANGE, *Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope*, p. 73.

[3] *Harris*, I, LXVIII *a*, 4-5; read the list of the *iḫwt* that follows this heading.

[4] *Tomb Robberies* (text), pp. 14-15; for another list see *LEM*, 136, 10 ff.

[5] *Harris*, I, LXXVI, 5-6.

[6] DUNHAM, *Naga-ed-dêr*: stela 30, no. 11; *British Museum Stelae* II, pl. 22.

[7] *Harris*, I, XLV, 8.

[8] See *Wb. Belegst.* II, 424 (4); or 'dependents' as Professor Glanville once suggested to me.

[9] Cf. *Wb.* IV, 146.

[10] DEVÉRIA, *Monument Biographique de Bakenkhonsou*, p. 13; *LEM*, 61, 2; 79, 12.

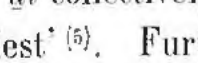
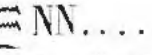
[11] See n. 6 above.

[12] See *Wb.* V, p. 504.

A. *ḏt* [1]

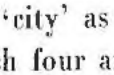
It has been suggested that *ḏt* is derived from *wḏt* which means 'that which is assigned', and that in view of the land determinative, it refers to an 'assigned land-property' [2]. The addition of the determinative of people to would, therefore, mean that the writer was thinking of the 'assigned property' in human form [3].

a) This view is based on only two examples in *Urk. I*, 4, 3-4, which are too obscure to be decisive.

b) Further, there is no evidence that these people were ever assigned. *Kahun*, pls. 10 and 11 mention them, each entitled *ḏt*, tabulated in the list of the household (*wpwt*). Included in the list were also members of the families of the *ḏt*, each of them also a *ḏt*. There is an analogous case in Cairo 20161, *c* : fourteen (?) *ḏt* [4], males and females, are enumerated among members of the family—of the parents of the *ḏt* only the mothers are mentioned. Although, there is no definite proof that these *ḏt* together with their families were living under the same roof with the other members of the family, and hence formed part of the household, yet the very fact that they are included in the lists of the household goes to show that they stood in some sort of close and private relationship to their masters. In *Kahun*, just quoted, the context also speaks of the *ḏt* collectively as  'belonging to the ordinary lector-priest' [5]. Further evidence in the same document shows that the man's *ḏt* were  NN..... (place) 'of what NN gave to him out of his *ḏt* in (place)' [6]. When he was in the foreign land, Sinuhe handed them over as his property to his eldest son 'I spent a day in Ya'a to hand over my property to my eldest son ... all my property being with him, my and all my herd...' [7]. In the Hammâmât inscriptions, Amenemḥat mentions them as people of the *šn*ᶜ 'my own [being] my own belonging to the troop' [8].

[1] See 'various writings', p. 40 below.

[2] *Ann. Serv.* 42, 45-46.

[3] A parallel case is 'city' as a place and  'city' as a collective of people.

[4] Of which four are damaged, and hence hatched; but notice the invariable writing of *ḏt* with *n* instead of the land sign, .

[5] *Kahun*, pl. 10, 7. In *Bauer*, p. 33 (R. 40) a man and his son are the *ḏt nt imy-r pr-wr*.

[6] *Kahun*, pl. 10, 21.

[7] *MES*, 35, 1-5—see p. 66 below, n. 7.

[8] *Hammâmât*, 87, 16-17, on p. 66; see also p. 44 below.

c) The land determinative is sometimes omitted from the word as a title [1]. Usually, the *ḏt* is represented engaged in some sort of funerary service without any other indication of his, or her, status or the nature of their relation to the person whom they serve [2].

It is, therefore, clear that the *ḏt* form part of one's own people and can be owned and bequeathed. So far, evidence does not show that they were ever assigned to the land for work. The word refers to the 'body' as in human form, *i.e.* 'human chattels' [3].

The writing of the collective word with the land determinative is not known after the Middle Kingdom [4], neither is it found in the Old Kingdom.

To sum up

In its form as a title, *ḏt* sometimes shows the land determinative—as a collective word, however, it is written with this determinative, particularly in the Middle Kingdom.

Etymologically, the meaning of *ḏt*, is derived from *ḏt* 'body', hence 'personal'. With the 'people' determinatives, it refers to the body in the form of 'human beings', *i.e.* 'human chattels' (parallel : 'generation'). They mainly form part of a house-hold, especially in Middle Kingdom texts, and in such cases they seem to be limited to women and their children. On the other hand, there are individual *ḏt*, males and females, working on funerary service. The term is chiefly used in the Middle Kingdom.

B. *N-ḏ(Y)T* [5]

Unlike *ḏt*, *n-ḏ(y)t* has, more often than not, a suffix or is followed by a noun in the genitive.

[1] Cf. *British Museum Stelae*, I, pl. 54 ; it is noteworthy that out of the twenty examples of *ḏt*, fourteen follow the personal names ; Cairo 20161 *c*; *Äg. Inschrr.* I, pp. 183, 194 ; *Mastabas*, p. 199 (Old Kingdom, the only example known to me).

[2] Cf. preceding note.

[3] A parallel may be found in which means 'generations' ; cf. also discussion on *n-ḏ(y)t*.

[4] Cf. 'various writings', p. 40 below.

[5] See 'various writings', p. 41 below.

As a *title*, I know it only twice in the Middle Kingdom, on *BM Stelae I*, pl. 51 : the two persons who are alluded to as (and) are represented bringing or giving geese, the text reads : NN 'for his (*i.e.* the deceased's) *ka*, by his *n-ḏ-(y)t* NN'. Although the status of these two persons is not clear, yet the meaning of the word can be fairly understood in conjunction with the word *ḏt* 'body', hence 'belonging to his body' would stand for 'his own man', a term for 'his chattel' in human form (or slave). An analogous case may be found in the word *n-swt* 'belonging to the *swt*-plant', a term for the 'king' of Upper Egypt. From the New Kingdom onwards, the *n-ḏ(y)t*, unlike *ḏt*, seems to designate subjugated foreign countries and people, free and unfree [1]. Everywhere, the term *n-ḏ(y)t* describes their status, present or future. The contexts do not specify any work allotted to them—they are simply regarded as 'belonging to the body', *i.e.* 'human chattels', of the king or the temple.

N-ḏ(y)t appears, though sporadically, as a variant of *ḏt* (without land determinative) [2].

The nature of the *N-D(Y)T*

Close examination of the texts, however, shows that the countries in question have become the *n-ḏ(y)t* of the king through divine ordinance. 'All lands are the of his Majesty, as his father Amūn ordered' [3]. In the Edfu temple the god says : 'I cause Egypt to be loyal to thee, the lands of *Fnḫw* to become human chattels (*n-ḏ(y)t*)' [4]; while in another place he says : 'I register them to be human chattels of (thy) Majesty' [5].

The disposal of these chattels seems to have been in the interest of the god's institutions. The king has to assign them to the god's temple and ergastula —they are not granted to individuals. The king speaks : 'Every land is

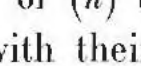
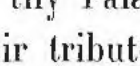
[1] See discussion on 'Captives', pp. 109-112 below.

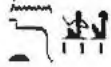
[2] Especially in the passage *ḥ3swt nb(t) m n-ḏ(y)t* ..., *Urk.* IV, 368, 10 and *Luksor* 322 (*Wb. Belegst.* II, 369, 6); *Urk.* IV, 795, 13 and 796, 8; *Karnak*, pl. 24 (*m ḏt nt ḥm-f*); Mond and others, *Temples of Armant*, pl. 113, l. 15.

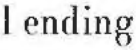
[3] *Urk.* IV, 795, 13-14.

[4] *Edfou* I, p. 144, 5° to be compared with Nephthys' speech no. 6°, 'I give thee *r3-mry* to be thy share, the lands of *Stt* to be thy slaves (*ḫmw*)'; also, *Dendérah* I, 23 : 'I give thee the lands as human chattels'.

[5] *Edfou* I, p. 108, 2°, 1.

 of (*n*) thy Palace': the text then gives an account of the chiefs coming with their tributes 'their sons and daughters are  at (*r*) thy Palace' [1]. The king has brought men and all their property, 'It is thy strength-of-arm that carried them off : the males thereof to fill thy *šn*ᶜ, their women to be (*r*) *n-ḏ(y)t* of (*nt*) thy temple' [2].

However, in one example known to me, people are reduced to the status of *n-ḏ(y)t* of the *ỉmy-r pr* (of the god) *pn*, as a punishment for the violation of a royal decree issued in the interest of the god. The passage reads : 'He who shall be found taking any head of animals belonging to the House (etc.), punishment shall be done to him by cutting off his nose and ears, he being put as a cultivator in the House (etc.) in exchange (?) for his crime (?), and putting his wife and children as 'human chattels'  of the overseer of this estate' [3].

The *writing* of the word deserves attention, since in the Ptolemaic Period it shows an additional ending , hence we have  [4] and the variants [5] etc. There are two possible explanations of this :

A. *N-ḏ(t)y* may have been treated as plural of the earlier New Kingdom collective form (and variants). The as a formative element in plurals is noticed in such a word as the plural of [6]. Of interest is the corresponding Coptic word ϩⲓⲱⲧ which shows by the length of its vowel that the singular ended at one time with a short vowel, *e.g.* * *jōtē* [7]. Dr. Junker is therefore justified in suggesting the reading *ḏ-tj* for the Middle Kingdom *ḏt* [8].

B. *N-ḏ(t)y* may be regarded as another form of the New Kingdom *n-ḏt*. In this case, it may be presumed that the vocalisation of *n-ḏt* was * *ēndōyet* with the * *y* (=) written out only later in the Ptolemaic Period. The *y* appears in the writing as final consonant, the feminine ending *t* having doubtless

[1] *Med. Habu*, pl. 106, 37-39.

[2] *Med. Habu*, pl. 99, 14-15.

[3] *Nauri stela*, 72-74 ; I have quoted Griffith's translation, with the exception of the part containing *n-ḏ(y)t*.

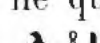
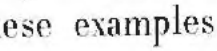
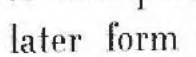
[4] *Edfou* IV, 125, 3 ; see also 'various writings', p. 41 below.

[5] *Dendérah* I, 23 — see also 'various writings', p. 41 below.

[6] Cf. *ZÄS* 48, 27 ; also Erman, *Pluralbildung des Ägyptischen*, p. 20.

[7] Steindorff, *Koptische Gr.*, § 140.

[8] Junker, *Giza* III, p. 160.

dropped off long before. Lacau remarks [1] that in early forms of words ending in or , the *y* was often suppressed. This view is supported by examples that he quotes dating to the Middle Kingdom, *e.g.*  (*MES*, 27, 4), (*MES*, 23, 12), (*MES*, 24, 3; 25, 15; 35, 3), (*MES*, 32, 15); also  variant  . To these examples may be added : (*Admonitions*, vii, 9) which has a later form (Daressy, *Ostr. Hiérat.*, 25209, 11; *LEM* 87, 13).

This conclusion is more plausible and the vocalisation could be applied to *mr(y)t* [2]—see p. 23 above.

To sum up

N-ḏ(y)t is derived from *ḏt* 'body' with a genitival prefix—the meaning is, accordingly, 'belonging to the human chattels'—an expression describing subjugated countries and captured people who belong to the chattels of the king or the temple, not to individuals. Close examination of the nature of the *n-ḏ(y)t* shows that they become human chattels of the king through divine ordinance. The king has to assign them to the god's temple and ergastula. Since their source is capture, the *n-ḏ(y)t* include slaves and free people.

The use of this term extends to the Ptolemaic Period. Its construction is analogous to *n-swt* 'a king'. The writing never shows the land determinative. As a title, I have found it only twice—both times in the Middle Kingdom.

Various writings

ḎT

Mastabas, p. 199 ; *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54.

Urk. IV, 796, 8.

Admonitions, VI, 7 (*rmṯ-ḏt*) ; *Urk.* IV, 272, 5 ; 368, 10 ; *P. Peter.* 1116 A, *rt.* l. 23.

Äg. Inschrr. I, pp. 123, 124 *f* and *g*, 183 ; *BM Stelae* I, pl. 54 ; *Kahun*, pls. 10, 22 *ff* ; 11, ll. 1, 4.

Cairo, no. 20161, ll. 5-28.

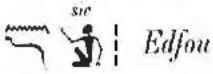
Hammâmât, no. 87, 16-17.

Kahun, pl. 10, ll. 7, 21 ; *MES*, p. 35 ; 3 ; *Bauer*, R. 40

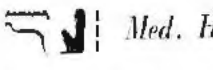
[1] Lacau, *Rec. tr.*, 31, 73-90 ; this remark is on p. 83. — [2] Cf. Lacau, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

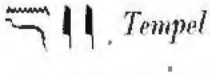
Ṅ-D(Y)T

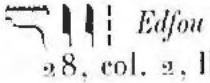
Edfou I, 370, 5.


Edfou I, 375, 5.

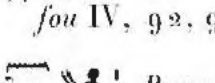
Denderah IV, 29 *b*.

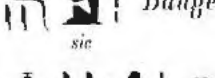

Med. Habu, pl. 101, 12.


Tempel Inschrr. I, 68, 5.

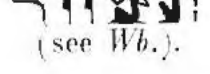

Edfou I, 582, 13 ; 396, 7 ; *Edfou* II, 28, col. 2, ll. 17-18.

Edfou I, 185, 15 ; 109, 14 ; *Edfou* IV, 92, 9 ; *Denderah* I, 23.

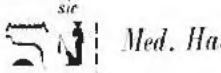

Baugeschichte, pls. 48, 51.


Edfou III, 242, 19.

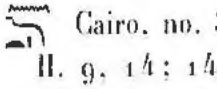
Theb. Temp. gr. Zeit., 27*f* (see *Wb.*).

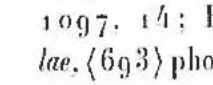

Urk. II, 130, 1.

BM. Stelae, I, pl. 51 (*416 b*).


Med. Habu, pl. 99, 16.

LD (text) IV, 27 *b*, 4.

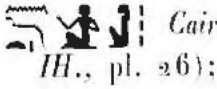

Cairo, no. 34010, 11 ; *Urk.* IV, 138, ll. 9, 14 ; 140, 17 ; 614, 5 ; 795, 13 ; 1097, 14 ; Bor., *Amonstempel*, 44 ; *Philae*, (693) phot. 814 (see *Wb.*).

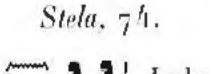

Rec. trav. 22, 166 ; *Urk.* III, 53, 13.

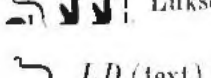
Med. Habu, pl. 106, 37.

Cairo, no. 583.

Cairo, nos. 137, 583, 13 (= R., *Hl.*, pl. 26) ; *Urk.* IV, 331, 14 ; *Nauri Stela*, 74.


Luksor (322) (see *Wb.*).


LD (text) IV, 81.


Edfou IV, 124, 18 ; 125, 3 (cf. 101, 11) ; *Resultate*, 18.

Leiden, vs., 6, 8.

C. EMPLOYMENT AND EMANCIPATION

1.—EMPLOYMENT

*PR-ṠN*ᶜ AND *ṠN*ᶜ

Both words are, more often than not, written with the sign *šnᶜ* [1], which is followed by the phonetic complement *only* in the Middle and New Kingdoms [2]. Also in the same period, the sign may replace [3].

[1] See 'various writings', pp. 46-47 below.

[2] Cf. preceding note.

[3] The lion appears as a variant, especially in the New Kingdom. So far, the author has not been able to identify the Middle Kingdom example mentioned in *Wb.* IV, 508. The reason for the interchange of and is due to the similarity of the two

The *pr-šnᶜ* [1] occurs mostly in the Old Kingdom and twice in the Middle Kingdom [2].

In the royal decrees of the Old Kingdom, which are largely concerned with the exemption and protection of certain classes of people (also lands) from being used for any work beyond that decreed for the district of a certain god, mention is made of the *pr-šnᶜ* in connection with the *mr(y)t* [3] or the *;ḫt*. The *mr(y)t* had to be recruited for it : ... 'slaves are recruited to this from the slaves ...' [4]. Even they had to be registered : 'As for any official who shall write any decree in order to register (lit. place) the names of the slaves (*mr(y)t*) belonging to (*nt*) this *pr-šnᶜ* at the office of the archives (*pr-ỉry-mḏ;t*) [5]. With regard to *pr-šnᶜ* mentioned with *;ḫt*, Aba says : 'Behold, I was administrator of the house of the *pr-šn*' (and) of the *;ḫt*' [6]. A royal decree also states of a piece of land (*;ḫt*) that 'its name shall be "Min-causes-to-prosper-the-mansion-of-*Nfr-k;-R*"' of (*nt*) the *pr-šnᶜ*'; the text later says : 'Thou shalt make the census of the of this *pr-šnᶜ*' [7]. However, by comparison with a variant, *Urk.* I, 289, 4, 'King Neferkerēᶜ ... has ordered the protection and exemption of (the village called) "Min-causes-to-prosper-the-mansion-of-*Nfr-k;-R*"' of (*nt*) the *šnᶜ* together with all the *mr(y)t*', it is justifiable to conclude that *pr-šnᶜ* and *šnᶜ* had the same meaning in the Old Kingdom. This is also made clear by the fact that the same copy of a decree (*Urk.* I, 289 ff) uses *pr-šnᶜ* throughout the text except in one place, 289, 4, where *šnᶜ* occurs as variant (cf. 291, 8). Not only were *mr(y)t* and *;ḫt* included in the *pr-šnᶜ*, but also the 'storehouse' or 'granary' could be regarded as being within the *pr-šnᶜ* : *šnwt ntt m pr-šnᶜ ḫry wḏᶜ n ḫrt ;bd* 'the granary which is in the *pr-šnᶜ* which is subject to (?) the monthly division (?)' [8].

signs in hieratic : cf. Möller, *Paläographie*, I and II, signs nos. 125 and 600. The sign itself is a substitution for an earlier sign (two branches of wood joined at one end) —see *Egn. Gr.*, sign-list U 14.

[1] For the reading see Sethe, *Götting. Anzeigen* (1912), p. 707, no. 4. The reading could be established by comparing *pr-šnᶜ* with *pr-ḫḏ*, see p. 43 below, no. 1.

[2] Both occur in titles, see further below.

[3] There is one case with the doubtful reading *rmṯ-nsw* (?), *Urk.* I, 295, 4.

[4] *Urk.* I, 294, 5.

[5] *Urk.* I, 291, 5-8, to be compared with *ibid.*, 282, 3-8.

[6] *Deir el Gebrawi*, I, pl. 7.

[7] *Urk.* I, 294, 3-4 and 15.

[8] *Ti*, pl. 84. Things taken from the *pr-šnᶜ* are mentioned in L. Borchardt, *Ein Rechnungsbuch des Königlichen Hofes aus dem A. R.* (*Aegyptiaca*), p. 10.

In the Old Kingdom, there were two *pr-šnᶜ* *prwy-šnᶜ* [1], apparently one for Upper and one for Lower Egypt. This conclusion seems to be confirmed by the IIIrd Dynasty text of Peḥernefer [2] who was overseer of the breweries of the and . The plural writing in the title [3] indicates that there were also local *prw-šnᶜ*. If *šnᶜ* can be regarded as a variant of *pr-šnᶜ* in this period, the writing *šnᶜw* [4] which occurs in conjunction with land and *mr(y)t* would confirm this view.

It should be noted also that in the mastaba of Mereruka five small rooms are designated *šnᶜ* over their doors [5]; these were evidently storerooms, and no work, such as we associate with the *pr-šnᶜ*, could have been done in them.

The title strong of voice which Ni ᶜankh-Khnūm [6] held in addition to his title, overseer of the *pr-šnᶜ* of the sun-temple *'Nḫn-of-Rēᶜ'* seems to indicate that the *pr-šnᶜ* was a place for labour [7]. As the discussion above has shown that : a) *mr(y)t* were recruited for the *pr-šnᶜ*; b) fields, villages and breweries belonged to it and the output from the work was stored in it, the conclusion must be drawn that the *pr-šnᶜ* was a large department for production and storage. For this department there was an *ỉmy-r pr-šnᶜ* [8] and *sš pr-šnᶜ* [9]. The feminine title 'inspectress of the *pr-šnᶜ*' [10] occurs once. If *šnᶜ* be a variant of *pr-šnᶜ*, the title *ỉmy-r šnᶜ* would mean 'overseer of the department of ergastula' [11].

Once *pr-šnᶜ* appears with the people determinatives [12], which means that the writer was thinking of it as a group of people.

In the Old Kingdom *pr-šnᶜ* is common in titles as well as elsewhere, while *šnᶜ* is found only in the title *ỉmy-r šnᶜ* [13]. In the Middle Kingdom there

(1) *Urk.* I, 247, 11. The parallel writing of *prwy-ḥḏ* is not without interest, cf. Sethe, *Beiträge ältest. Geschichte*, p. 127 and *Teti Cemet.* I, pp. 106, 123.

(2) Cf. Junker's explanation. *ZÄS* 75, p. 68.

(3) Cf. *Cairo* 1513; the variant is .

(4) *Urk.* I, 307, 11-12.

(5) *Mereruka*, II, pl. 199.

(6) *Äg. Inschrr.* I, p. 60.

(7) Cf. Grdseloff's explanation of *nḫt ḫrw* in *Ann. Serv.* 42; 122, no. 2.

(8) *Urk.* I, 98, 13; 273, 13; 292, 10; 295, 2; 303, 18; *Äg. Inschrr.* I, pp. 28, 33, 60; *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. 7 *a*; *British Museum Stelae* I, pl. 22; *ZÄS* 75, 68; *Ti*, pl. 84.

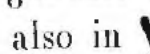
(9) *Ti*, pl. 84.

(10) *Äg. Inschrr.* I, p. 67. This title is not known to the *Wb.*

(11) *Urk.* I, 289, 4; see also no. 13 below.

(12) *Urk.* I, 281, 1.

(13) *Äg. Inschrr.* I, pp. 22, 52; *Trois Années de Fouilles*, 199; *Teti Cemet.* (text), pp. 185, 222; see also no. 11 above.

seems to have been a change : only *šnˁ* is found [1], and it is but rarely mentioned in explanatory passages. In the titles in which the house sign ▭ precedes *šnˁ* the reading changes into *ỉmy-r pr* 'steward' of (*n*) the *šnˁ* [2]; this is clear in  [3] and also in *ỉmy-r pr* (*n*) *šnˁ* [4]. Thus the Old Kingdom *ỉmy-r* | *pr-šnˁ* seems to have changed in the Middle Kingdom to *ỉmy-r pr* | (*n*) *šnˁ*. Among the titles of the same period are : *ỉry-ˁt n šnˁ* 'house-servant of the *šnˁ* [5]' and *sḏm šnˁ* 'attendant of the *šnˁ*' [6]—the former title refers to the store-rooms within the *šnˁ*.

That the *šnˁ* is a magazine is clear from Ḥaˁpdjefai's contract : 'That which Ḥaˁpdjefai gave to them for it : a sack of charcoal for every bull and a basin (basket ?) of charcoal for every goat which they are wont to give to the *šnˁ* of the Count' [7]. And 'the quantum (*mnt*) of the *šnˁ* which is given to the people of the house of nurses' [8] consisting of bread and beer. *Šnˁ* may also be designated as belonging to the *ḥtp-nṯr* [9]. The passage, however, from Hammâmât 'my own *šnˁ* [being] my own slaves of the troop' [10] suggests that the writer was thinking of the people of the *šnˁ*.

Thus, *šnˁ* in the Middle Kingdom, so far as the evidence goes, is a storehouse only.

With the advent of the New Kingdom, *šnˁ*, not *pr-šnˁ* [11], was exclusively used to cover the two meanings [12] : 'magazine' and 'ergastulum'.

a) The king says : 'I filled them (the *šnˁw*) with good slaves of the choicest and corn by ten thousands' [13].

(1) See 'various writings', pp. 46, 47 below.

(2) I am indebted to Professor Gunn for this reading.

(3) *Cairo* 20678, *b*.

(4) *Cairo* 20501, *a* and *b*.

(5) *Cairo* 20160, *r*; 20311, *k*; 20545, *h*; 20598, *c*; *Rec. tr.* 12, 16.

(6) *ZÄS* 75, 65.

(7) *Siut*, pl. 8, 292-293.

(8) *Boulaq* 18, 31.

(9) Louvre C. 12 (*Lesest.* 76, 8-9); Cairo 20311, *k*.

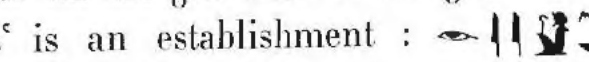
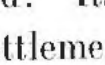
(10) *Hammâmât*, 87, 16-17 on p. 66.

(11) There is one restored example : *Urk.* IV, 796, 3.

(12) Cf. F. Chabas, *Mél. Égyptologiques*, 2ᵉ série, p. 118.

(13) *Harris* I, XXVII, 2-3 ; also *Hist. Inschrr. 19. Dynastie*, I, p. 16, 1-3.

b) In the Annals of Thutmosis III, '[Captives ... which my strength-of-arm has brought] as the best of victory which he has given to me, to fill his *šn*ᶜ, to be slaves (*mr(y)t*), to make for him royal linen, *pḳt* linen, white linen, *sḫrw* and *wmt* linen, to be field-labourers, to till the fields and to grow corn in order to fill the granaries of the god's revenue (*ḥtp-nṯr*)' (1).

The *šn*ᶜ is an establishment :  'I have made for thee (*i.e.* the god) *šn*ᶜ for the "Feast of Appearance", being built on pure ground on the land of Heliopolis' (2). However, the most complete description of the *šn*ᶜ and its purpose is given in the 'Building inscription of Amenophis III' (3), the translation runs as follows : 'Its (that of the *ḥwt-nṯr*) is full of male and female slaves out of the children of the rulers of all foreign countries which his Majesty captured. Its magazines contain all good things ... it is surrounded with settlements () for the Syrians, furnished with the children of rulers, its cattle are like the sand of the shore'.

Thus, the *šn*ᶜ is not only an establishment for captive labourers, but also one for cattle and provisions. It is clear, then, that the title *ỉmy-r šn*ᶜ (4) or *ḫry šn*ᶜ (5) means 'overseer' or 'master' of the ergasulum. The title has sometimes the name of the god or of the king—sometimes the *šn*ᶜ is named after a feast (6).

To sum up

In the Old Kingdom, the *mr(y)t*, males and females, were assigned to the *pr-šn*ᶜ of the god, *i.e.* to the 'department of the ergastulum'. The work was mainly rural. More than two departments existed, each probably concerned with a special type of work.

The term *pr-šn*ᶜ is limited to the Old Kingdom, whereas in the New Kingdom we find only *šn*ᶜ, to which are assigned captives specified as *mr(y)t*, *ḫmw* and

(1) *Urk.* IV, 742, 10-743, 1 ; it is difficult to give other examples of the work allotted to the slaves in the *šn*ᶜ, since texts which mention the specific work of slaves are scanty in any case.

(2) *Harris* I, xxvii, 2.

(3) *Six Temples*, pl. 12, 6-8.

(4) *E. g. Amenemḥēt*, pp. 33-34 ; see 'various writings', p. 47 below.

(5) *Top. Cat.*, no. 198 ; *Tomb Robberies*, P. 10068, *vs.* iii, 18 ; see 'various writings', p. 47 below.

(6) *E. g. Harris* I, vi, 2 ; *Urk.* IV, 685, 13.

ḥmwt. These people apparently carry out works similar to those performed in the Old Kingdom *pr-šn*ᶜ.

There are overseers of such ergastula.

VARIOUS WRITINGS AND TITLES

*PR-ŠN*ᶜ

Urk. I, 172, 4.

Urk. I, 98, 13; 131, 6; 303, 18; *ZÄS* 75, 68 (+ and +): Cairo no. 1513 (see plural form below; *Ti*, pl. 84; *BM Stelae* I, pl. 22 (left jamb); *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. 7 *a* (Akhetib); BORCHARDT, *Ägyptiaca*, p. 10.

 Urk. I, 291, ll. 8, 16; 294, ll. 4, 5; *Äg. Inschrr*. I, pp. 33, 34, 60; *Ti*, pl. 84; *BM Stelae* I, pl. 22 (panel and right jamb).

 Urk. I, 292, 10.

Urk. I, 273, 13.

Urk. I, 294, 15; 295, 2, 4.

(dual) *Urk*. I, 274, 11.

(plural) Cairo no. 1513 (var.).

Urk. I, 281, 1.

Urk. IV, 796, 3.

TITLES

Urk. I, 303, 18; *Äg. Inschrr*. I, pp. 28, 33, 34, 60; Cairo no. 1513; *ZÄS* 75, 68; *Gizeh* and *Rifeh*, pl. 7 *a* (Akhetib); *BM Stelae* I, pl. 22 (left jamb).

 BM Stelae I, pl. 22 (panel and right jamb).

 Urk. I, 273, 13.

Urk. I, 295, 2.

Urk. I, 98, 13.

Urk. I, 292, 10.

(plural) *Cairo* no. 1513 (var.).

Ti, pl. 84.

 Äg. Inschrr. I, p. 67.

*ŠN*ᶜ

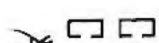
 Cairo nos. 20010 *a*, 20174 *d*, 20510 *a*; *Äg. Inschrr*. I, p. 22.

 Cairo nos. 20311, *k*. 20501, *b*; MASPERO, *Trois Années de Fouilles*, p. 199; *Siut*, pl. 7; ll. 292, 294; *Hammâmât*, no. 87, 16.

 Urk. I, 289, 4.

Äg. Inschrr. I, p. 52.

 Teti Cemet. (text), pp. 185, 222; *Mereruka*, II, pl. 199; Cairo no. 20729, *c*; *Siut*, pl. 7, l. 293; *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 29.

 (plural) *Urk.* I, 307, 11.

Cairo nos. 20598, *c*; 20678, *b*.

Cairo, nos. 20160 *r*, 20202 *b*, 20296 *l*, 20545 *h*, 20546 *b*; Louvre C. 12 = *Lesest.*, p. 75, 8; *Six Temples,* pl. 12, l. 6; *Top. Cat.,* tomb no. 199; *Amenemḥet,* pp. 33-34, *Urk.* IV, 72, 6; 530, 7; 685, 13; 742, 13; 781, 2; 795, 12; *Rec. tr.*, 20, 40, ll. 9-10; *Karnak,* pl. 19; *JRAS* 25, 4; P. Peter. 1116 A, *rt.* l. 29; *vs.*, ll. 22, 40, 41, 81, 86, 87, 127, 128, 129, 134; Harris I, VI, 2; VIII, 11; XXVII, ll. 3, 4, 6; XLVII, 10; XLVIII, 1; LVII, 10; LVIII, 3; LIX, 1.

Urk. IV, 1102, 15.

Harris I, XXVII, 2.

(plural) *P. Peter.* 1116 A, *vs.* ll. 16, 20, 33, 178, 205.

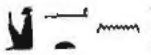
Cairo, no. 34183, 18; *Urk.* IV, 796, 7; *Top. Cat.,* tomb no. 198; *Thesaurus,* p. 1233, 10; *Karnak,* pl. 24; *Tomb Robberies,* P. 10068, *vs.* 3, 18; 4, 18.

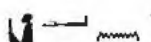
(plural) *Hist. Inschrr.* 19. Dyn. I, p. 16, 1; *Nauri Stela,* ll. 17-18.

BIFAO 40, p. 38.

Urk. IV, 1179, 6.

Titles

 *Cairo,* no. 20311 *k*.

 *Cairo,* no. 20598 *c*.

Cairo, no. 20160 *r*.

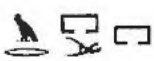
Cairo, no. 20545 *h*.

sic

Cairo, no. 20010 *a*.

Cairo, no. 20510 *a*.

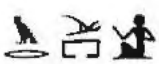
sic

 *Cairo,* no. 20501 *b*.

Äg. Inschrr. I, p. 22.

Äg. Inschrr. I, p. 52.

Trois années de Fouilles, p. 199.

 *Siut,* pl. 7, 284.

Teti Cemet. (text), pp. 185, 222; *Cairo,* no. 20729 *C*.

Cairo, no. 20546 *b*.

Cairo, no. 20174 *d*.

 Cairo, no. 20678 *b*.

 Beni Hasan I, pl. 29.

Cairo, nos. 20202 *b*, 20296 *l*; *Top. Cat.,* tomb no. 19. *Amenemḥēt,* pp. 33-34.

Äg. Inschrr. I, p. 190 (var.).

Cairo, nos. 20021 *a*, 20238 *f*.

Cairo, no. 20043 *a*.

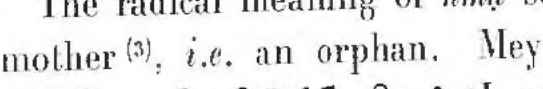
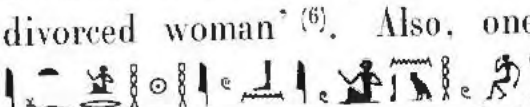
Urk. IV, 1179, 6.

Top. Cat., tomb no. 198; *Tomb Robberies,* P. 10068, *vs.* 3, 18; 4, 18.

2.—EMANCIPATION

NMḤ

In his article *Two Demotic Self-Dedications* [1], Sir Herbert Thompson has discussed the meanings of *nmḥ* (hieroglyphic and demotic) in relation to persons and property, and has quoted almost all the references known to me [2]. It seems, however, that *nmḥ* should be briefly approached from a different angle, especially in connection with the emancipation of slaves. The important question to be investigated is whether *nmḥ* refers to a 'free' person or a 'freed', emancipated person.

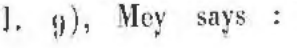
The radical meaning of *nmḥ* seems to be a person deprived of father or mother [3], *i.e.* an orphan. Mey says of himself :  'I am one orphaned of father and mother, the ruler has raised (lit. built) me' [4]. As an orphan the *nmḥ* could be adopted and brought up by another person who ranked as his father : 'As to him who has no child, he should acquire for himself another (child), an orphan, to bring him up' [5]. Or, *ntk it n nmḥ ḥ(ꜣ)ỉ n ḫꜣrt sn n wḏ‘t* 'thou art a father to the orphan, a husband to the widow (and) a brother to the divorced woman' [6]. Also, one person writes to another :  'thou art ever with me as a father, (and) I shall not be deprived (or orphaned) of thee' [7].

The *nmḥw*, being without parents, or at least without fathers, and hence deprived of paternal protection and support, were regarded as *pauperes* [8]

[1] *JEA* 26, 68-78 ; *nmḥ* is discussed on pp. 74-76.

[2] Additional references : 'Adoption Papyrus', *rt.* II. 22, 24, *vs.* II. 2, 6 ; also *JEA* 27, 90, no. 51 ; Erman, *Denksteine Theb. Gräberstadt*—Turin Naos 913 ; stela of Pay.

[3] Possibly a perfective passive participle —see further below.

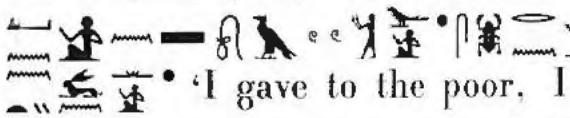
[4] *Amarna* V, pl. 4 (south thickness, col. 4) ; note that on pl. 2 (north. thickness, l. 9), Mey says :  'I am a slave (*ḥm*) of him who brought me up'.

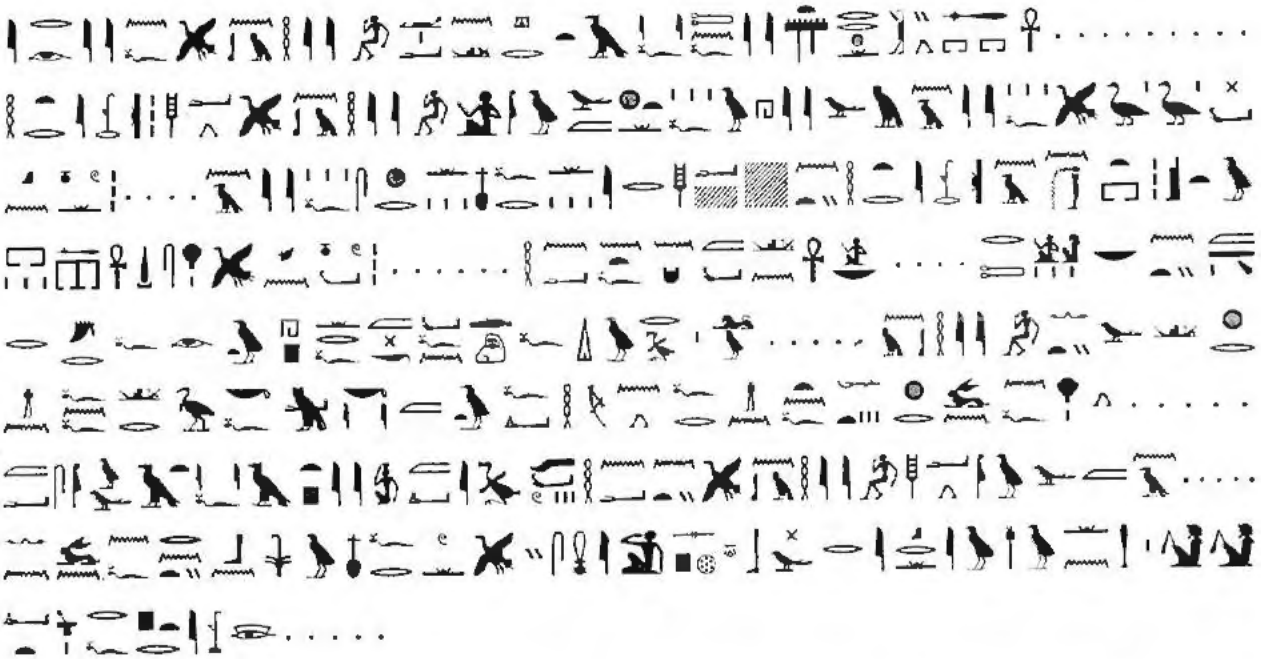
[5] *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III (pl. 33), no. 10627, 9-11—it is to be noted that *in* means 'to acquire', cf. *JEA* 13, 34, no. 16.

[6] *Bauer*, p. 72 (B, 62-63).

[7] *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III, pl. 39, no. 10630, 6-8.

[8] Cf. the Arabic يتيم 'orphan' from يتم 'be alone, bereaved', and Hebrew יתום 'orphan' from the same root.

and in need of support. Bakenkhonsu says : 'I have protected the orphan (?) ... (and) cared for the widow' [1]. Of no less interest is a prayer to Amūn wherein *nmḥ* occurs several times. It runs : 'O Amūn, give thy ear to one who is alone in the *ḫnbt*, who is a pauper (*nmḥ*) [2] and is not powerful (*wsr*). The *ḫnbt* mulcted him in silver and gold for the scribes of the *tm*; and clothes for the attendants. It was found that Amūn had taken form as a vizier to release the pauper. It was found that the pauper became justified. The pauper surpassed the powerful' [3]. Thus, the *nmḥ* was, in this passage, alone, and only with the support of the god could he justify himself in the court and overcome his powerful, *i.e.* supported, opponent. In the instructions of Ammenemes I, the *nmḥ* is included among other classes which need support :  'I gave to the poor, I brought up the orphaned, I caused him who did not possess to attain similarly to one who did' [4]. King Ḥaremḥab's decree provides for the protection of the *nmḥy* [5].



[1] Cairo 42155.

[2] Cf. *Job.* 24[9]; *Psalm* 109[13], in both of which the orphan is mentioned as helpless and exposed to injury (Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Dictionary*, p. 450 *b*).

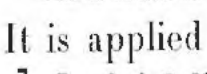
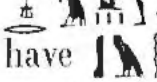
[3] *LEM*, 17, 11-14.

[4] *Mél. Maspero* I, p. 481.

[5] Müller, *Egyptol. Researches*, I, pls. 91, 14-92; cf. also Cairo 34162. It is significant to note that *nmḥy* is perfective passive participle—see p. 51 below, no. 1 : — for the latest edition of this decree see Pflüger, *JNES* 5 (1946), 260-276.

'. . . If the pauper makes for himself a boat with its rigging (?) in order to be able to follow Pharaoh, l.p.h., . . . assessments. Then the pauper stands deprived of his property and escapes his many *pss* . . . his good plans. If . . . stands . . . which assesses the kitchens and places of Pharaoh l.p.h. concerning (?) the deputy . . . and he will take away the boat of any citizen . . . any man who is in the entire land, a law has been made (*i.e.* enacted) concerning him, in cutting off his nose, he being placed at *T;rw* . . . the pauper without a boat, let him acquire for himself a boat for his work from another, and he shall cause him to go to acquire for himself wood . . . from emptying his load, from taking them away, and the pauper shall stand deprived of his [property ?] [1], . . . he has nothing, it is not good. This report is a very evil deed. My Majesty has ordered the annulment of it. Behold . . .' Although the *nmḫ* is seemingly poor and in need of support, yet he may have possessions of his own : 'Now, though I had fallen into orphanhood I had acquired oxen' [2].

The meaning 'free' of *nmḫ* evidently originated from that of a fatherless and motherless child, who is, in a sense, free from any sort of obligations. It is thus not strange that the word *nmḫ* meaning 'free' retains the child, or the 'bad bird' determinative. In this sense and spelling it was applied not only to people but to property. Thus we have the *;ḫ(t) nmḫw, mw nmḫw, ḫnmt nmḫ*, meaning 'land of freemen (= *ἰδιόκτητος γῆ*)', 'private water' and 'private well' respectively [3].

As a title it occurs, in the Middle Kingdom, followed by a noun in the genitive. It is applied to women, for in *Kahun*, pl. 9, 4 ff., we have  and, in Cairo 20104, 20266, 20392 (from Abydus), we have  (?) and . Griffith remarks on these two examples : [4] 'As the women at Abydus appear to belong to families of some consequence, one may suggest that they were such as were without natural protector, and therefore placed as 'wards' under the guardianship of a city or guild'.

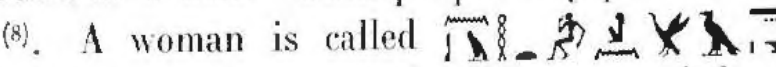
[1] In the *Book of the Dead* (text), p. 250, 6-7 the deceased declares : *n nmḫ·i nmḫ m (i)ḫwt·f* I have not deprived a pauper of his property, see also p. 79 below, no. 4.

[2] *Courtiers*, pl. 22 ; cf. *Egn. Gr.*, § 507, 6.

[3] *JEA* 19, 21 ; see Gardiner's explanation in *JEA* 26, 75. The use of *nmḫ* perhaps refers to their independence of royal rights.

[4] *Kahun* (text), p. 21.

The last title may be taken as an appellation for 'free woman of the city'. However, according to Griffith, these women were probably originally under a protector, hence were not free; and by losing the protector, they became free. *Nmḥyt*, being a perfective passive participle [1], no doubt means 'she who has been deprived-of-parents : orphaned' and not, at least originally, 'she who is an orphan'. As there is a reference in such cases to a 'freed' person, this conclusion can be further supported by the recurring passage [2] in demotic self-sales : [3] 'I shall not be able to become free in respect of thee ever again'. This change of status can be applied to an earlier document from the XXth Dynasty : 'They are indeed no longer with him as servants (*b;kw*), but are with him as brothers and sisters, they being free men of the land (of Pharaoh)' [4]. However, *p; nmḥ*, alone by itself, is found [5]; and *nmḥw* the 'orphan' occurs as a surname [6].

From the end of the XXth Dynasty *rmṯ nmḥ n p; t;* comes into use [7], but it is never found as a title. Such people may possess lands of which they can dispose [8]. A woman is called  [9]. There is in the Ptolemaic documents the person *ms nmḥ* 'born free' as opposed to *ms ḥn pr* 'born within the precincts of the temple', a term for a temple slave [10]. Of the same period is the expression *rm ḥ-nmḥ* a 'free man' (lit. 'a man, a free body', as distinct from *nmḥ* in respect of land) [11].

In some demotic marriage settlements which enumerate property, the list

(1) This could be also applied to the masculine *nmḥy* which occurs in Ḥaremḥab's decree, see p. 49 above, no. 5. It must be pointed out that *nmḥy* in this decree is not a title.

(2) *P. Rylands*, V, VI, VII.

(3) *Nmḥ* as an infinitive denotes the change of action.

(4) *Adoption Papyrus*, *vs.* 6. Dr. Gardiner's restoration of *n Pr-ʿ;* seems to be unnecessary, since the expression *rmṯ nmḥ n p; t;* only, regularly replaces the fuller one in later texts—see no. 7 below.

(5) *Dakhleh Stela*, l. 13 (*JEA* 19, 22); *LEM*, 84, 10.

(6) *Ann. Serv.*, 42, 121 (*Äg. Inschrr.*, I, p. 60).

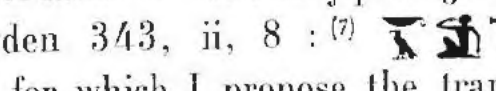
(7) See p. 52 below, no. 1.

(8) Cf. *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 52, no. 7; and *JEA* 26, 75.

(9) Cf. *JEA* 26, 25, note *g*.

(10) Cf. *Siut Archive* (text), p. 60, no. 7; *JEA* 26, 73, note on l. 10—*Congrès Internat. Pap.* (1937), p. 501.

(11) *JEA* 26, 71, note on l. 10, and p. 76.

contains 'lands, houses, revenues, slaves : males and females ... and *mdt n rm nmḫ nb n p; t;*' [1]. Griffith suggests that this final expression means 'arrangement with tenants (?)' [2], while Spiegelberg translates it by 'Pachtvertrag (?)' [3]. Thompson thinks that it is not very clear [4]. According to the context, *mdt* can clearly be translated by its usual meaning 'things' or 'matters', and hence '*mdt* of any free man' ... could only refer to the 'matters of any free man'. The difficulty which Thompson meets with in explaining the implication of *p;y·i rm nmḫ* 'my free man' [5] is non-existent, for from the XXth Dynasty onwards a slave (*ḫm*) could be a citizen of the city and be in possession of land [6]. The only passage that I find difficult to explain occurs in P. Leyden 343, ii, 8 : [7]  for which I propose the translation : 'Whether thou grindest upon a mill-stone, or whether thou art deprived of the mill-stone (?)' [8].

I need not prolong the discussion of *nmḫ*, *rm-nmḫ* and *ḫ-nmḫ* and the corresponding Coptic word ⲣⲙⲛⲉⲥ, since these have already been fully dealt with in Thompson's article. Neither will I, for the same reason, discuss the orthography of *nmḫ*.

To sum up

No word meaning 'to emancipate' a slave is known to us. The word *nmḫ* describes the status of a person who has become free [9]. Thus, *rmṯ nmḫ* means 'freed man' or 'freed woman' (also *nmḫt*). In the Middle Kingdom, only the feminine *nmḫyt* occurs, in connection with the title *nmḫyt nt niwt*, which does not inform us of the status of the possessor of the title.

[1] Spiegelberg (*CGC*), nos. 30601, 2 : 30607, 3 ; 30609, 2 ; *P. Rylands*, XI, 2 : *P. Louvre*, 2439 (= *Corpus Louvre*, pl. 5, no. *h*).

[2] *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 122.

[3] *Verpfründungsverträge*, p. 3 (= *P. Louvre*, 2439) ; see also note 1 above.

[4] *JEA* 26, 76.

[5] *Siut Archive* (text), p. 75, no. 7.

[6] Cairo stela $\frac{27|6}{24|3}$ (see pls. II, III, IV) and pp. 85-86 below.

[7] *Wb. Belegst.*, II, 268, 13. The *Wb.* suggests for *nmḫ* 'to work', which has no relation to the original meaning.

[8] I have been helped by Professor Gunn in this translation ; cf. also the example from the *Book of the Dead*, given p. 50, n. 1 above, where *nmḫ* is used as a verb and a noun. The meaning 'bereft' has also been suggested by Blackman-Peet in *JEA* 11, 290 = *LEM*, 106, 10. The sentence reads : *iw-k nmḫ-tw m 'wt-k nbt*.

[9] A. Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient*, vol. I, p. 665 translates *nmḫw* as 'affranchis de corvée'.

CHAPTER III

LEGAL ASPECTS

The legal aspects of slavery are evidently of great importance. If the slave is to be regarded merely as a chattel, it is difficult to see why he should possess any rights as a human being : his master's ownership would be absolute, or at all events exclusive. This seems to be implied in theory; but in practice the slave has some rights as *a man*, however vaguely defined, particularly in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

The legal aspects will be approached from two stand-points, namely the slave as a *res*, and the rights of the slave as a *man*.

However, as a preliminary to the study of the legal aspects, the 'transfer' of the ownership and the services of the slaves have to be first classified and dealt with, as well as the formulae used therefor.

A. TRANSFERS OF SLAVES AND THEIR SERVICES

Kinds

Three kinds of these documents may be distinguished [1] :

A. Deeds of Disposal
B. Hire, Purchase or Sale
C. Voluntary Servitude

[1] The documents in the following list are chronologically arranged. The form of those marked * will be discussed, the others are included merely for the completion of the list of transfers. The list does not include such documents as those in *Urk.* IV, *Med. Habu* and *Harris* I, which are not transfers in the strict sense of the word.

A. Deeds of Disposal

These involve :

1. Royal Decrees.
2. General Settlements.
3. Family Settlements, which include :

a) *Testamentum*, an instrument of the devolution of an inheritance.
b) Marriage Settlement.
(In both (*a*) and (*b*) the slave is transferred and regarded as part of property).
c) Adoption.

1. Royal Decrees :

Old Kingdom

Edict of Neferirkarē', *Urk.* I, 170-172.
Edict of Pepi I, *Urk.* I, 209-213.
Edict of Pepi II, *Urk.* I, 280-283.
Edict of Neferkarē', *Urk.* I, 289-292.
Edict of an unidentified successor of Pepi II, *Urk.* I, 293-295.
Edict of an unidentified successor of Pepi II, *Urk.* I, 307.
Edict of Neferkauḥōr, *Urk.* I, 302-304.

New Kingdom

Edict of Ḥaremḥab, *Egyptol. Researches* I, pls. 90-104.
Nauri Stela (Dyn. 19), *JEA* 13, 200 ff., pls. 40-43.

Late Period

Stela of Apries, *Ann. Serv.* 27, 211-237.

2. General Settlements :

Late Period

*P. Louvre 3228 C (Dyn. 25—Abn.[1] Hieratic), *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, 15, no. 3.

[1] See transcription, pls. VIII-XI.

*P. Louvre 3228 F (Dyn. 25—Abn.[1] Hieratic) *Cat. Ryl Dem. Pap.*, 15, no. 2.
P. BM 10113 (?)[2], *Pap. Jurist. Inhalts*, pp. 5-7.
P. BM 10120 B, *Pap. Jurist. Inhalts*, pp. 29-32.
P. Berlin 3110 (Dyn. 27), *Dem. Pap. Berlin*, p. 4.
P. BM 10591, *vs.*, col. 5-7, *Siut Archive*, pp. 57-62.
P. Louvre 2439, *Verpfründungsverträge*, 3 ff.
P. Rylands XI, *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 257.

3. Family Settlements :

a) *Testamenta*

Old Kingdom

Inscription of Metjen, *Urk.* I, 1-7.
Inscription of an unidentified person, *Urk.* I, 11-15.

Middle Kingdom

Conveyance of Waḥ (hieratic), *Kahun*, pls. 12-13.
Stela of Intef, *Liv. Ann.* 7, 81-88, pl. 15.

Late Period

Das Testament eines Hohenpriesters (Dyn. 23). *ZÄS* 35, 13-16, 20-24.

b) Marriage Settlements

New Kingdom

P. Turin 2021 (Dyn. 20), *JEA* 13, 30-39, pls. 13-15 (cf. also *BIFAO* 37, 41 ff).

Ptolemaic Period

P. Rylands X (315 B. C.), *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 254.
P. Cairo 30601 (231/30 B. C.), *Dem. Pap.* (*CGC*).
P. Cairo 30607 (129/8 B. C.), *Dem. Pap.* (*CGC*).
P. Cairo 30608 (123/3 B. C.), *Dem. Pap.* (*CGC*).

[1] See transcription, pls. XV, XVI.

[2] It is difficult to give a satisfactory transcription, especially of the terms for 'slave', and hence the propriety of including this document in the list is doubtful ; cf. also p. 33 above, n. 6.

c) Adoption (of slave)

Only one document is known to me, and this is simply an informal declaration by the adopting party (*Adoption Papyrus*).

B. Hire, Purchase or Sale

XVIIIth Dynasty

*P. Berlin 9784, *ZÄS* 43, 27-47.
*P. Gurob II, 1, *ZÄS* 43, 27-47.
*P. Gurob II, 2, *ZÄS* 43, 27-47.
*P. Berlin 9785, *ZÄS* 43, 27-47.
*Bryce Tablet, *PSBA* 30, 272-275.

Since P. Cairo 65739 deals with a *lawsuit* arising from the purchase of two slaves, it has been excluded.

Late Period

*P. Louvre 3228 A (Dyn. 25—Abn. Hieratic), *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, 15, no. 1.
*P. Louvre 3228 E (Dyn. 25—Abn. Hieratic), unpublished (see pl. XII).
*P. Vatican (Dyn. 26—Abn. Hieratic), *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, 18, no. 7; also *PSBA*, 32, 5 ff; *Rev. Ég.* 5 (1946), 119 ff.
*P. Turin (Dyn. 27—Demotic) [1], *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, 28, no. 46.

C. Voluntary Servitude

They embody :

1. Self-sale;
2. Self-dedication.

[1] See transcription, pl. XX and translation, pp. 93-94 below. There is also another unpublished document discovered by Revillout (see *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 28, no. 46 and Revillout, *Cours de Droit Égyptien*, p. 103) showing that the slave in question was re-sold six months later.

1. *Self-sale :*

*Louvre E. 706 (Dyn. 26[1] Demotic). *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, 19, no. 15.
*P. Rylands III, *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, 21. no. 19.
*P. Rylands IV. *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, 21, no. 20.
*P. Rylands V, *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, 21, no. 21.
*P. Rylands VI, *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, 21. no. 22.
*P. Rylands VII, *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, 21. no. 23.

2. *Self-dedication :*

This differs from self-sale in being unilateral.
*P. BM 10622. *JEA* 26, 68-78.
*P. BM 10624 *JEA* 26, 68-78.
P. BM 10618-'621; P. BM 10623; P. BM 10625-'639—Thompson mentions these papyri in *JEA* 26, 68.

Oral legal transfers

An Egyptian 'legal document' is only the written record, by a notary, of a *legal transaction* which was concluded by the parties *orally* in the presence of witnesses. That such documents are evidential of an oral act is clear from the use of the word *dd* 'declare' or 'say' which opens the document. Sometimes more than one transfer differing in dates and nature are recorded on the same papyrus, *e. g.* P. Berlin 9784[2], the 'Adoption Papyrus'. The day of the month may even be omitted[3].

Form of transfers

In the course of time these documents changed their form. A complete one comprises[4] : A. *Date;* B. *Body;* C. *Witnesses and their Declarations.*

A. *Date :*

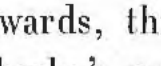
In the XVIIIth Dynasty the date embodied the regnal year, month and day of the king, whose name is introduced by 'under

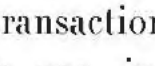
[1] See transcription, pls. XVII, XVIII.

[2] The transfers were recorded on three different days, covering a period of about ten years. However, *P. Berlin* 9785 is probably not a contract, for matters were disputed before the court.

[3] See below, under 'Date'.

[4] Cf. Appendix I, pp. 91-92 below.

the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt' [1]. However, from the XXVth Dynasty onwards, this formula was replaced by  'of the Pharaoh'; king Taharḳa's name was followed by the epithet 'son of Isis, beloved of Amūn' [2]; the Ptolemies, on the other hand, had their royal protocols. Another point to be noticed is that during the reigns of Darius (P. Turin) and Amasis II (P. Rylands VI), the day of the month was omitted.

After the date, the transaction opened with the formula  'On this day' which remained in use, in some documents, down to the period of Psamētjik I [3].

B. *Body*; this includes :

I. *Contracting Parties* (represented below by A and B)

In the XVIIIth Dynasty, only their titles and names are mentioned—filiation is omitted [4].

In 'abnormal hieratic' documents, the formula is : 'A, son of C, has said to B, son of D'. In one example, namely P. Louvre 3228 C, the mother of A is added, with the words *mwt-f* NN.

However, in P. Turin, *temp.* Darius I, the mothers of both parties are mentioned. In some self-sales of the reign of Amasis II, the second party's mother is omitted [5]. Self-dedications, being unilateral acts, have the form 'A (man or woman), his (or her) mother being NN, has said'. If the paternity of A is referred to, the formula is mostly "son of 'I know not his name' " [6].

II. *Declaration of Vendor.* This falls into two parts :

(*a*) Transfer of the slave, which embodies various formulae (see pp. 60-62 below);

(*b*) 1. Receipt of price;

2. Oaths and assertions.

[1] Cf. *Four Papyri.*

[2] *E. g. P. Louvre* 3228 A; 3228 C.

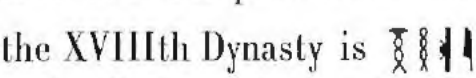
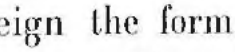
[3] These are : *P. Louvre* 3228 A; 3228 E, *P. Vatican.*

[4] Cf. *Four Papyri.*

[5] *P. Rylands,* III, V; but VI and VII mention the mothers of both parties.

[6] However, there are seven papyri out of the thirty in which A. is of known parentage, not necessarily Egyptian; cf. *JEA* 26, p. 68 group I.

1. The consideration is found stated from the XVIIIth Dynasty to the reign of Psamētjik II. The price is first omitted in the 4th year of this king (cf. Louvre E. 706), although it is given in a later document, *P. Turin,* from the time of Darius I. The inclusion or omission of the price seems to depend on the nature of the contract. Self-sales, requiring renunciation of self and property for special purpose, cannot depend on a monetary consideration [1]. On the other hand, when the contract is concerned with the sale of a slave, as in the same *P. Turin,* the price must be fixed. Self-dedications are of a different character—A. undertakes a monthly payment in return for the god's protection.

2. To assure that the promises shall be carried out, an oath is taken [2]. Its form in the XVIIIth Dynasty is  (*sic*) 'As Amūn endures and as the Ruler endures' [3]. The vendor also testifies to the receipt of the payment. In Taharḳa's reign the form changed to  'As Amūn lives and as Pharaoh lives.....' [4]. However, the latest occurrence of the oath is in the 4th year of Psamētjik II (*Louvre* E. 706).

With the oath is sometimes found a variety of assertions by the vendor [5].

C. *Witnesses and their Declarations :*

1. *Hire and Sale of Slaves :* In the XVIIIth Dynasty witnesses are introduced by 'list thereof', followed by their names and titles. Then comes the scribe's name introduced by *ir·n* 'made by'.

In the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties the documents contain a number of summary witness-copies, in which the witnesses' names are preceded by *m-bꜣḥ,* and followed by their fathers' names [6]. The formula 'to every writing that is above' is sometimes added [7]. In some more complete instances the regnal date, without the Pharaoh's name, then occurs, and is repeated with

[1] See also pp. 119-120 below.

[2] See also pp. 63, 64 below.

[3] *P. Berlin,* 9784, 26; cf. the simpler form in *Louvre* E. 706, *vs.* 3.

[4] *E. g. P. Louvre* 3228 A, 7.

[5] Cf. *Louvre* E. 706, *vs.* 3-4; *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 8; see also pp. 62, 63 below.

[6] *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 10-21; 3228 C, 6; 3228 E, 11 ff.

[7] *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 10, 14, 17; 3228 C, 31-32; 3228 F, 14, 19.

the witnesses [1]. Also, the price, as stated in the body of the document, is sometimes mentioned with them [2]. However, *P. Louvre* 3228 C, 15 and 3228 F, 4 introduce witnesses under the old term *ỉmy-rn·f*. As to the scribe's name, it usually comes first.

2. *Entry into Servitude by Voluntary Act :* In demotic contracts of voluntary servitude, witnesses' names are accompanied by the fathers' names, and *m-bȝḥ* is not used—the scribe's name is introduced by *sš* (once *m* (?) *sš*) [3].

In any case, it is to be noticed that the names of the contracting parties, as far as we can judge from the complete documents, are not mentioned among the witnesses' [4].

Formulae of transfers

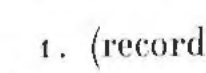
The most important part of the transfers [5] is the 'body'; this is usually couched in certain formulae varying with the period, and the subject deserves a special section.

In the following discussion (A) represents the 'vendor', and (B) the 'buyer'.

Hire and Sale Formulae :

In the XVIIIth Dynasty, two schemes are found, each having two formulae.

In one we have :

1. (recorded by notary)  [6] B A 'A purchase made by B from A'.

[1] *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 10, 17; 3228 C, 32; 3228 E, 19, 23; 3228 F, 14, 17, 19.

[2] Cf. *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 12, 20; 3228 C, 20; this means that the price has been paid in their presence.

[3] This occurs in *P. Rylands*, VI, 5. However, in the self-dedications *sš* occurs before each witness's name; *P. BM* 10624, 21-23.

[4] Cf. *e. g. Four Papyri, P. Louvre* 3228 A, *P. Rylands*, V, VII.

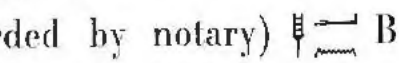
[5] Attention may be drawn to the fact that such documents as those to which the discussion will be limited, are not known before the XVIIIth Dynasty, neither are they found between this period and the XXIVth Dynasty; they re-appear in Taharḳa's period. With the Ptolemaic Period, a new type of 'unilateral' acts appears.

[6] Dr. Gardiner remarks that *swnt* meaning 'price' or 'value' is a *feminine* substantive, as it occurs with the article *tȝ* (*P. Berlin* 9784, 26). However, *swn*, which means 'purchase' or 'sale', seems to be masculine infinitive; the article *pȝ* may precede it (cf. *ZÄS* 43, 32, n. 4).

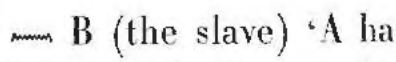
2. (said by A) 'for I have been fully paid with the price thereof'—this clause comes after the oath in the two examples known to me [1].

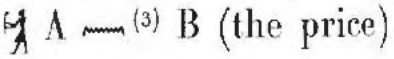
In the other we have :

1. (said by A) 'let it be given (to me) the price of .....'.

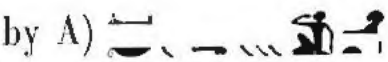
2. (recorded by notary)  (the price) 'thereupon B gave to A (the price)' [2].

In the *XXVth and first half of the XXVIth Dynasties*, the scheme is composed of :

1. 

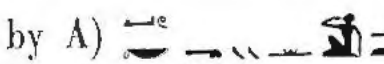
2. 

However, from the *latter half of the XXVIth Dynasty, i. e.* from Psamētjik II, onwards, the order of the formulae is reversed—the price being mentioned first, and the slave second :

1. (said by A)  (the slave) 'Thou hast caused (my) heart to agree to the money for (the slave)'.

2. (said by A) 'He is thine, he is thy slave' [4].

Almost identical formulae are used in deeds of voluntary servitude :

1. (said by A)  'Thou hast caused (my) heart to agree to my money of becoming thy slave'.

2. (said by A) 'I am thy slave for ever' [5].

[1] *P. Gurob*, II, 1, 3, 9 ; II, 2, 14-15, 19-20.

[2] *P. Berlin* 9784, 4, 5 ; notice the variant *imi n·i swn(t)* in l. 6.

[3] *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 3-4 ; 3228 E, 3-4 ; *P. Vatican*, 4.

[4] *P. Turin*.

[5] *P. Rylands*, VI, 2 ; cf. also *Louvre* E. 706.

Since self-dedications are 'unilateral' acts [1], clause (1) was omitted. As to clause (2), it reads :

(said by A) *ink ỉ;y·k b;kt* to which is added : 'together with my children and my children's children' [2].

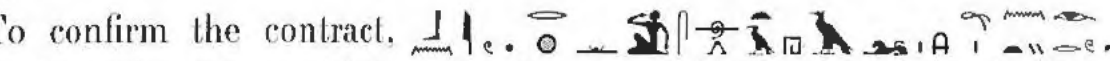
Assertions :

Two categories of documents have to be distinguished, since each displays different formulae of assertions :

I. Sale of slaves;

II. Deeds of voluntary servitude.

a) The warranties of the vendor in the sale of a slave are :

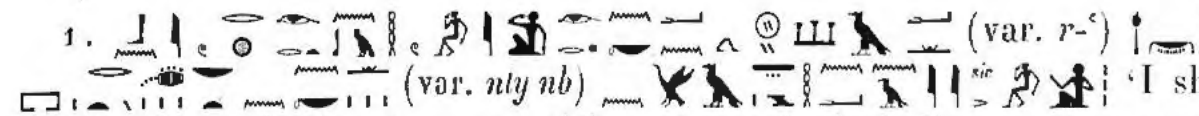
To confirm the contract,  . 'I shall not be able to withdraw the document which has been made above' [3] —this shows that the oral agreement was not sufficiently binding.

Against eviction 'He who shall come to thee on account of him in my name or the name of any man in the land, including brother, sister, father, mother, master, mistress or myself likewise, saying : "He is not thy slave". I shall make him far from thee..... Thy slave being still ever thine, together with his children unto eternity' [4].

Also, 'As to him who shall speak (*i. e.* make a claim), let not his utterance be heard in any bureau of writing' [5].

However, the available documents fail to give warranties against the defects of a slave.

b) The warranties by the vendor are :

1. 
(var. *r-ḫ*) (var. *nty nb*) 'I shall not be able to be free in respect of thee ever again, including any money, any corn, anything (or property) in the land, together with my children, etc.' [6].

[1] See p. 77 below, n. 4.

[2] *P. BM* 10622, 9-10; 10624, 11-13.

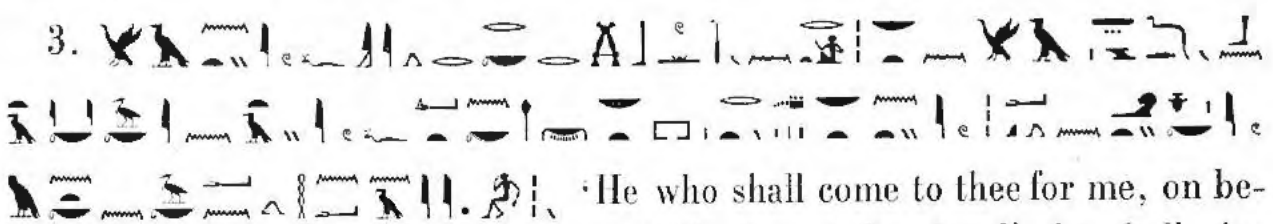
[3] *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 8-9; cf. variant in *Louvre* E. 706, 4.

[4] *P. Turin*, 3-5; see translation, pp. 93-94 below.

[5] *P. Louvre* 3228 E, 8-9 (see transcription, pls. XIII-XIV).

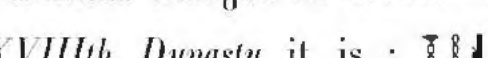
[6] *Louvre* E. 706, 5 ff.; *P. Rylands* III, V, VI, VII.

2. 'I shall not say "false!" regarding any word that is above' (1).

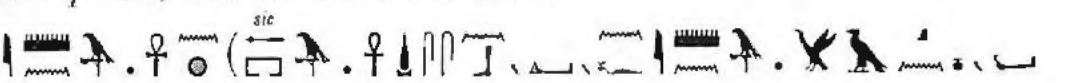
3.  'He who shall come to thee for me, on behalf of any man of the land, saying : "She is not thy slave", he shall give thee any money, any corn (2) which will please thy heart (3), I being still thine as slave together with my children' (4).

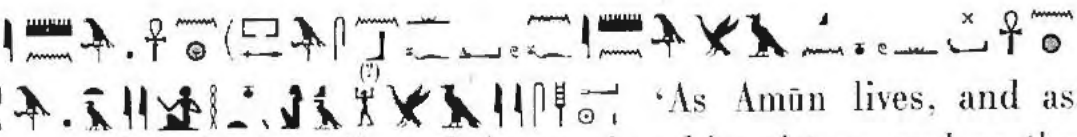
Oaths :

The oath-formula changed in course of time.

In the *XVIIIth Dynasty* it is :  "As Amūn endures and as the Ruler endures" (5).

In *Taharḳa's period*, two schemes are found :

(*a*)  'As Amūn endures and as Pharaoh, l. p. h., lives and as he is well and Amūn gives him the victory' (6).

(*b*)  'As Amūn lives, and as Pharaoh lives, and as he is well, and Amūn gives him victory, and as the god's-adorer of Amūn, my mistress, lives and as her life-time shall be long' (7). However, *P. Louvre* 3228 E, 7 ; 3228 F, 12 ; *P. Vatican*, all of the XXVIth

(1) *Louvre* E. 706, *vs.* 4.

(2) The occurrence of money and corn together is frequent—a fact which points to the importance of corn in Egypt. It seems that 'corn' (*prt*) refers to both *it* and *bdt*, allocation in the Old and Middle Kingdoms—cf. *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, 78, n. 11 ; for *it* and *bdt* see also *JEA* 27, 27-28.

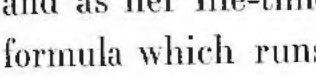
(3) See discussion of this warranty on pp. 75-76 below.

(4) *Louvre* E. 706, *vs.* ; *P. Rylands* V, 5.

(5) *P. Berlin* 9784, 26 ; however, in *P. Gurob* II, 1, 7-8 ; *P. Gurob* II, 2, 18, the formula is *w'ḥ p' ḥḳ' sp-sn* which, I believe, should be translated "As the Ruler endures, as the Ruler endures", but not, as Dr. Gardiner suggests, to be taken as an abbreviated form of *w'ḥ 'Imn w'ḥ p' ḥḳ'* ; cf. *ZÄS* 43, 36, n. 7-8.

(6) *P. Louvre* 3228 C, 21-22.

(7) *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 7-8.

Dynasty, omit the part 'As the god's-adorer of Amūn, my mistress, lives and as her life-time shall be long'. Louvre E. 706, *vs.* 3 shows a short formula which runs : 

Formula in Marriage Settlements

Since some marriage settlements embody a transfer of slaves, the following formula, frequently used to this effect, may be included in this section :

X p; nb n nty nb nkt nb nty mdy-i ḫnˁ n; nty iw-y dit ḫpr-w n pr ;ḥt sˁnḫ b;k b;kt ḫd ḫmt ḫbs iḫ ˁ; i;wt nkt n r nb

'X (is) the owner of everything and all (kinds of) property that belong to me together with that which I shall gain of house, land, annuity (?), male slave, female slave, money, copper, clothing, ox, ass, small cattle, property in any chamber (?)' [1].

B. OLD AND MIDDLE KINGDOM AND SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Evidence Scanty and Vague

The scanty evidence before the XVIIIth Dynasty does not give a sufficiently detailed picture of the rights and obligations of the slaves. It is possible that the idea of rights had not fully developed at this early period. A survey of the conditions shows to what extent individual rights tended to be over-ridden by the royal power. Royal decrees often regulate the rights of a religious institution or an individual over the services of certain classes of people, including the slaves (*mr(y)t*). However, there is no doubt that a definite class is specified as being chattels without any distinct rights. The condition of this class, although not clearly defined as slavery proper, seems to be so remote from the mere exploitation of its services, that it is quite in order to describe it as slavery.

[1] *P. Rylands* X, 3—cf. variants in Cairo 30601, 1-2 ; 30607, 3 ; 30608, 2.

Domestic and foreign slaves

Domestic slaves are comparatively few, and the examples known to me date from the Middle Kingdom. They are cited as *ḏt*, *ʿ3m* [1], and *ḥmt*.

The Middle Kingdom texts also mention foreign slaves [2]. But it is impossible to know whether they are captives brought through a dealer, or voluntary. On one stela, namely *Cairo* 20549, both *ḥmt* and *ʿ3mt* are mentioned, and it may therefore be inferred that *ḥmt* refers to an enslaved native. On the other hand, *ḥmt nt Pwnt* (*BIFAO* 30, 111) seems to refute this view.

Family relationships

Two examples are known to me which may throw light on the family relationships of a domestic slave—they are *Kahun*, pls. 10 and 11, 6-8, and Cairo 20161 *c*. From these documents it seems that the sons and daughters of a slave (*ḏt*) are born slaves (*ḏt*) and apparently are not separated from their mothers. In the *Eloquent Peasant*, R. 40, a man and his son are called *ḏt* [3]. The sisters of a *ḏt* may also be counted as slaves (*ḏt*) (*Kahun*, pls. 11 and 12, ll. 5, 10, 19, 20). The available documents do not give any clue as to matrimonial relationships.

Similar status of male and female slaves

As the determinatives of *iswww*, *ʿ3mw*, *mr(y)t*, *ḏt* indicate, there seems to be no distinction in status between male and female slaves. With the exception of the two examples of male slaves known to me in *P. Westcar*, VII, 15 and the *Dedsobk* stela, only the feminine *ḥmt* is found during this period. No less interesting is the fact that, in connection with the analysis of the meaning of *b3k* as a verb, it was found to be mostly girls that were enslaved [4].

[1] Mention is sometimes made of the female *ʿ3mt* : *Kahun*, pl. 13, 15-16; Cairo 20549, *a* and *e*, 20164, *h*; in *Kahun*, pl. 30, 35 a male *ʿ3m* is a labourer, while on plate 10 four *ʿ3mw*, apparently slaves, are bequeathed.

[2] Cf. *e. g. Kahun*, pl. 12, 10 and *BIFAO* 30, 111 (*ḥmt nt Pwnt*).

[3] It seems more likely that the word *ḏt* (with plural determinative) refers to both men than to only the son, as is assumed by *e. g.* Gardiner, *JEA* 9, 7.

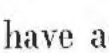
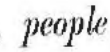
[4] See pp. 15, 16 above.

APPARENTLY NO RIGHTS

In any case, documents anterior to the XVIIIth Dynasty lead to the conclusion that neither a male nor a female slave possessed any rights. They, however, acknowledge the rights of the master over

(*a*) The acquisition; and
(*b*) The Services of the slave.

(*a*) *Right over Acquisition:*

'I have acquired people (), says NN, cattle, goats....' [1]. Nekhtu calls these people 'heads', 'I have acquired 31 heads of people (*tpw n* (*sic*) 31), 33 oxen, 13 asses...' [2]. An unidentified person says: 'I have not allowed any *ka*- servant ever to have the power to *sell* ( ) land, *people* () [anything]..... to any man, or to give them in a conveyance to any man (whatsoever)' [3]. 'Slaves (*iswww*) belonging to my personal property', says Tefnen, 'I have bought them, (they) having been registered in a sealed contract of wood (?)' [4]. Sobk'o also admits: 'I have, indeed, acquired slaves (*ir·n·i ḫm mr(y)t*) with the knowledge of officials' [5].

In addition to acquisition through purchase, the right to bequeath them is attested. Waḥ's wife may give them (*i. e.* '*;mw*) 'to any she desires of her children' [6]. Sinuhe handed over his property 'my human chattels (*ḏt*) and all my herds.....' to his eldest son [7]. Or, 'I have been an intelligent man', says Samontuser, 'and one who controls his slaves (*mr(y)t*) until the day comes wherein it is well with me, I have given them to my son by a con-

[1] PETRIE, *Dendereh*, pl. XI (block marked 'wife Beba').

[2] *Op. cit.*, pl. XI (block marked "Nekhtu").

[3] *Urk.* I, 12, 9-13; cf. also p. 11 above.

[4] Cairo stela 56994 (see plate 1); this implies that what is registered is the slaves, not a sale-contract; see also p. 14 above, n. 3.

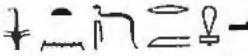
[5] *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54; see also p. 22 above, n. 4.

[6] *Kahun*, pl. 12, 11.

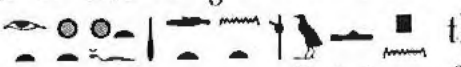
[7] *MES* 35, 5—notice that the bequest is made during Sinuhe's stay in a foreign country. Being an Egyptian he naturally uses an Egyptian term in referring to his human-chattels, although these are held under a foreign legal system.

veyance' [1]. A further example in the British Museum [2] is of special interest as it contains the modes of acquisition of *rmṯ*—slaves.

Restricted acquisition

However, some passages, just quoted, show that the right of acquisition entails legal procedure, since, like other chattels, they are subject to various forms of legal right and conditions stated in legal documents. The slaves (*iswww*) must be registered in a sealed contract of wood. The *mr(y)t* are acquired with the knowledge of officials—perhaps forming a council that looked into matters connected with slaves [3]. No person can claim any right over the services of the slaves (*mr(y)t*) who are assigned by royal decree to temple service. Indeed, such assignment has the king's sanction and ends with the words :  'sealed in the presence of the king's self' [4], sometimes followed by the date. Owners of the slaves have no absolute right to dispose of them as they like [5].

Punishment

Violation of the king's orders results in punishment, "What Neferkarē' desires is  the acting according to the text of this decree. Moreover, every official or functionary who shall not have acted according to the text of this decree..... (my) Majesty forbids that they ever exercise priestly functions in the pyramid 'Neferkarē'-is-one-stable-of-life' [6] ". In another passage the king regards this violation as 'an act of rebellion' [7], without any specification of the punishment that would be exacted.

(*b*) *Right to Slave-service :*

The owner, whether an individual or an institution, is entitled to the service

[1] *Mél. Maspero* I, p. 554.

[2] It is *BM.* 1628 = *BM. Stelae* V, pl. I, 13 ff—for this example I am indebted to Professor S. R. K. Glanville.

[3] Cf. [*sḫ*] *n srw*, Old Kingdom (quoted p. 15 ; *ḫnbt nt srw*, New Kingdom in *P. BM.* 10107 (see p. 78 below) ; also, *srw n ḫnbt ʿ;t*, Late Period, in *P. Louvre* 3228 C. 5 (see transcription, pl. VIII).

[4] *E. g. Urk.* I, 283, 18.

[5] See p. 66 above, n. 3.

[6] *Urk.* I, 283, 11-14.

[7] *Urk.* I, 282, 8 ; cf. also *Nauri Stela*, 43-45, dating from the XIXth Dynasty ; see p. 80 below.

of his or its slaves. They may be put to work in the 'place of cultivation' (*št-sḳ3*) [1], the 'department of the ergastula' (*pr-šn'*), 'personal estate' (*pr-ḏt*) or the 'god's land' (*3ḫt-nṯr*) [2]. In general, slaves' work is rural and usually carried out by the *mr(y)t*. The *ḏt* are more concerned, as the texts show, with bringing offerings, grinding corn, slaughtering oxen and other works is connection with the *pr-ḏt* than with agriculture itself [3]. They appear also as domestic slaves [4].

In a single place in which the activities of the *iswww* are shown, they also are engaged in occupations connected with the *pr-ḏt* [5].

However, the *'3m*, probably a slave, may serve at Egyptian feasts [6]; a *ḫmt* may work at the mill-stone [7]. But no sale of slaves and hire of their services, similar to those from the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards, are known to me [8].

Marks

Apparently, there was a distinctive mark for female slaves : four female Asiatics (*'3mwt*) and a *ḫmt* have, according to the description of Lange-Schäfer, green collars and armlets, shorn heads with a pigtail at the top [9]. Also in Cairo stela 56994 (see pl. I), the female *iswww* whose names are *Ḥnwt*, *Sn*, *Mry*, *Wsr* and *Tnty* are represented with shorn heads [10]; and apparently the female *ḏt'* in *B. M. Stelae* I, pl. 54, are similarly marked.

Treatment

On the treatment of slaves we have no definite information. A humane

[1] Or just 'cultivation'.

[2] See pp. 22, 23 above.

[3] *E. g. BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54; see also pp. 36, 37 above.

[4] Cf. *Kahun*, pls. 10 and 11, also pp. 36, 37 above.

[5] Cairo Stela 56994 (see pl. I).

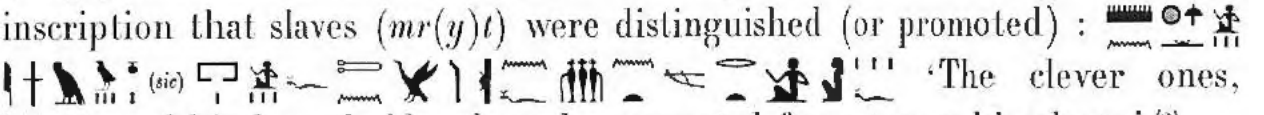
[6] *Kahun*, pl. 24, 4-6. He may also be a labourer, cf. p. 65 above, n. 1.

[7] Dévaud, *Ptaḥḥotep*, 59.

[8] However, the price (*swnt*) of the work of a female Asiatic slave (*'3mt*) is mentioned in *Kahun*, pl. 13, 15-19.

[9] *Cairo* 20549 *c*. It is interesting to note that according to the *Code of Ḥammurabi* the slave's hair was shorn (cf. Koschaker, *Gesetzgebung Ḥammurapis*, p. 236). However, in view of *Deuteronomy*, 21, 12, where a female slave shaves her head before marriage, it is perhaps not justifiable to apply this to what obtained in Ancient Egypt.

[10] It seems impossible that 'his son *Ḥnw*' and 'his son *'Iḫy-m-s3-f*', immediately below the heading *'iswww... which he bought...'* can be referred to by this heading, which must relate rather to the seven figures below these two sons.

social attitude towards them is claimed by Meru on his stela : 'I was, indeed, one beloved of people and dear to his slaves (*mr(y)t·f*), I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked' [1]. It may be inferred from Khnemḥotp's inscription that slaves (*mr(y)t*) were distinguished (or promoted) :  'The clever ones, inmates of his household, whom he promoted from among his slaves' [2].

Emancipation

The texts are silent on the matter of the emancipation of slaves. The title *nmḫyt*, which is applied to women, does not indicate the original status of the possessor of the title [3].

It is clear that in this period the slave is regarded as a *res* only. It may be only by chance that any evidence to his rights as a *man* is lacking.

C. FROM THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TO THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

With the advent of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the evidence concerning slavery assumes a different character. The documentary evidence is much more illuminating. To judge by the form of the late deeds for voluntary servitude, the relation of the slave to his master is not worse than that of a son to his father. It is striking that, as Griffith has pointed out [4], contracts should be drawn up between a son (apparently adopted) and his father in terms almost the same as those of servitude.

I. *The slave as a* res

That the slave is a *chattel* is clear from his being : (*a*) owned and (*b*) sold.

(*a*) Ownership

Ḥat says : 'Let cows be given to me. I will give thee an equivalent in

[1] XIth Dynasty, cf. Turin (*Cat. Gén.*), No. 1447. Such a social attitude towards the *people* does not appear before the VIth Dynasty.

[2] *Urk.* VII, 26, 3-4.

[3] See discussion on this title, pp. 50, 51, above.

[4] *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 57.

a female slave *belonging to me*' [1]. The hairdresser of the king, Sibastet, also declares : 'The..... slave (*ḫm ḥsbw*) belonging to me I obtained him because of my strength-of-arm while I was following the Ruler' [2]. Slaves were also included in marriage settlements [3].

(*b*) Sale of slaves

Evidence that slave-dealing was recognised is given by the following documents :

1. *P. Bologna* 1086, 9 ff. gives the impression that there was an organised slave-dealing, since a record of the place of origin and the parents' names of the slave was kept. 'I have examined (the matter of) the Syrian of the temple of Thoth about whom you have written to me. I have found that he had been put to be a field-labourer of the temple of Thoth..... with the slaves (*ḫmw*) of the ship's cargoes brought back by the commander of the fortress. Note that his Syrian name is Naḳady, son of Seleretjy, his mother being Ḳedy of the land Arwad, a slave of the ship's cargo of this Temple in the ship of the captain Kel' [4].

2. *P. BM* 10052, X, 14-20 shows :

(*a*) an inquiry into the manner of acquisition is necessary to prove ownership : "The scribe Ḏḥutmose said to her : 'How did you acquire the servants [5] whom you bought?'. She said, 'I acquired them in exchange for crops from my garden' ".

(*b*) the transfer of a slave from one owner to another. In relating his career at the court a slave states : 'When Peineḥesi destroyed Ḥardai, the young Nubian Butehamūn bought me, and the foreigner Penteseskhenu bought me from him : he gave two *debens* of silver for me. Now when he was killed the gardener Ker bought me'.

3. *P. Cairo* 65739, 4-5 shows that a slave may be bought through a merchant : 'The merchant (*šwty*) Rē'ia approached me (*i. e.* the citoyenne Erē-

[1] *P. Berlin* 9785, 10-11.

[2] *BIFAO* 38, 219—see p. 116 below, n. 1.

[3] *E. g. P. Turin* 2021, iii, 1-3 ; cf. also the list given on p. 55 above.

[4] Cf. *ZÄS* 65, 92.

[5] *B3kw* refers to 'slaves' ; on this point see p. 19 above.

nofre) with the Syrian slave Gemniḥiamente, she being (still) a girl, and he said to me: "Buy this girl and give a price for her" '[1].

4. In later times, as evidenced by *P. Turin*, the sale of a slave was done in a formal manner—a contract had to be drawn up between vendor and buyer. Aḥmose declares to the buyer : 'Thou hast caused my heart to agree to the money for the Syrian NN, my slave whom I have sold (lit. given) to thee'.

Sale contracts

No example of the sale of a slave is known to me in the XVIIIth Dynasty. However, from the XXVth to the XXVIIth Dynasties we find documents relating to the sale of slaves, drawn up in the form of contracts. After acknowledging receipt of the price and the handing over of the slave, the vendor has to guarantee the buyer that there will be no future claims on the slave. This may involve a compensation in such form as : 'Whoever shall come to thee on account of him (*i. e.* the slave) in my name or the name of any man in the land, including brother, sister, father, mother, master, mistress or myself likewise, saying : "He is not thy slave", I have to make him far from thee. If I do not make him far from thee, I shall give thee silver..... of the treasury of Ptaḥ of refined silver, *i. e.* [4] silver *debens* and $9\frac{2}{3}+\frac{1}{6}+\frac{1}{10}+\frac{1}{30}+\frac{1}{60}+\frac{1}{60}$ *kites* making 5 silver *debens* of the treasury of Ptaḥ, thy slave being still ever thine, together with his children, unto eternity'[2].

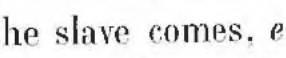
Where the contract lacks this penalty, as in *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 3228 E, 3228 F and *P. Vatican*, it may have been understood that the onus fell on the buyer of defending future questioning of his ownership. On the other

[1] Later in the text, ll. 22-23, the same merchant sold a male slave to Erēnofre.

[2] *P. Turin*, 3-5 (see pl. XX). This is, indeed, the only contract of slave-sale in which the vendor hands over also the offspring of the slave. That is to say, he has given the buyer full possession of the slave. It is also interesting to notice the similarity of expressing *mȝi* in Aramaic and Greek; the former being יהך (see p. 94 below) the latter ἀποστησεω (cf. *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 120). The whole clause seems to point to the fact that prescription was not recognised in Egyptian law and it was the vendor's duty to exclude (*i. e.* make far) all other claims to the ownership of the slave for an indefinite time during which a claim could be raised. For this purpose the vendor would naturally resort to any admissible measures to prove the buyer's legitimate ownership. Cf. discussion below.

hand, it appears to be unnecessary to include a warranty, since doubts about the buyer's title are far from being raised. Indeed, such contracts bear the signatures of many witnesses, who sometimes testify to 'the declaration that is made above' [1]. It seems also not essential that the buyer should take any measures to defend his title. Particularly when the vendor declares : 'As to him who shall speak, let not his utterance be heard in any bureau of writing' [2].

NATIONALITY OF SLAVES

In the contracts of slave-sale, it is worthy of note that the vendor states the place from which the slave comes, *e. g.*  'the man of the North' [3] which refers to Lower Egypt or Syria [4].

We do not know with certainty the reason for such details, but the following explanations may be suggested.

a) People belonging to these lands were more desirable.

b) To state the region of origin merely aided in the identification of the slave, whose parents' names were sometimes required [5].

c) To emphasize the foreign origin of the slave perhaps indicates that there was a certain difference in the status, or treatment, of native and foreign slaves. Analogies may be found in Hammurapi's Code (KOSCHAKER, *Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurapis*, 106) and in *P. Lille* I (from the Ptolemaic Period), No. 29, col. I, 13 ff., also in TAUBENSCHLAG, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, p. 12, where he says : 'The prohibition as contained in a Code of municipal court procedure of the IIIrd century B. C. against selling Greek slaves outside the country, is extended to house-born Egyptian slaves'.

HIRE CONTRACTS

In these as in sale contracts, it seems that the lessor not only hands over the slave, but also is responsible for any difficulties that may arise when the

(1) *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 10 (var. I. 17); 3228 C, 32, 37, 41. Unfortunately other examples are damaged.

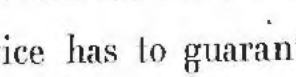
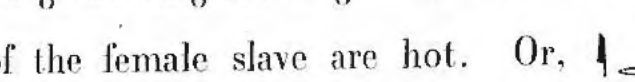
(2) *P. Louvre* 3228 E, 9.

(3) *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 3228 C, 3228 E.

(4) *P. Turin*; cf. also *P. Cairo* 65739— Erēnofre bought slaves from Syria ; *P. Bologna* 1086.

(5) Cf. *P. Turin* and *P. Bologna* 1086; also the Aramaic Papyrus No. 28, translated pp. 94-95 below.

stipulations come into effect. The lessor has to give the lessee effective use of the slave, which implies an obligation to compensate him if the title proves defective.

Hire contracts are known only in the XVIIIth Dynasty. The lessor of his slave's service has to guarantee that  'compensation shall be given ring for ring' [1] if the two days given to the lessee of the service of the female slave are hot. Or,  'if the days are hot, then compensation shall be given day for day' [2], since the lessor has already 'been fully paid with the price thereof'.

Vendors and slaves in contracts

The above discussion is based on contracts concerning one slave and between a single vendor (or lessor) and buyer (or lessee) in each case. However, there are other cases where two may be concerned. In *P. Gurob* II, 1, the lessors are the citoyenne Pihy (?) and her son, the priest Meni, while in *P. Louvre* 3228 A the persons mentioned as vendors are Pasmenamūn together with his sister Tbes [3].

The question now arises : if the clauses are not given effect, are both vendors (or lessors) held responsible? On this point there is no answer, since there exist no duties except the warranty against eviction (see p. 62 above).

Two slaves appear on a hire contract in *P. Gurob* II, 1, 4-5, where the lessors hire 17 (?) days of the female slave Kharyt and 4 days of the female slave Ḥenut.

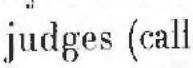
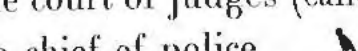
Disputes arising from purchase

It seems that not only was a detailed record kept of the slave's family and

[1] *P. Berlin* 9784, 27.

[2] *P. Gurob* II, 1, 8-9. Compensation could be also given in the form of work by another slave, cf. *P. Berlin* 9784, 9. Comparison may also be made with a demotic document, *Ost. Berlin* 6528 (Spiegelberg, *Demotica* II, pl. 11) concerning the hire of the service of a *son*. In this document the compensation for a break in the work is doubled.

[3] See also *Bryce Tablet*. Attention should be drawn to the fact that wherever more than one vendor (or lessor) is concerned, they are people of the same family. Does this mean that in Ancient Egypt family 'co-ownership' was known? (cf. also the formula against eviction, p. 62 above).

place of origin [1], but any dispute arising from his purchase could be settled at the court. The oft-quoted *P. Cairo* 65739 records a trial of the citoyenne Erēnofre, who is apparently accused of having wrongfully used the property of another lady in order to buy for herself two slaves; one male, one female. The court of judges (called)  heard six witnesses, including the chief of police  a mayor and a wēb-priest [2].

Of the transactions known to me connected with the sale and hire of slaves only three (all dealing with hire) are made in the presence of a *ḫnbt sḏmyw* [3].

Voluntary servitude

Deeds relating to 'voluntary servitude' exhibit an institution not known before the XXVIth Dynasty (*Louvre* E. 706). They leave little doubt that the conditions which bind a man (or a woman) to an individual, or an institution, practically reduce him (or her) to the level of a slave as a *res*. These deeds fall into two classes :

A. Contracts of 'self-sale'.
B. 'Unilateral' acts of self-dedication.

A. *Contracts of self-sale*

The documents of self-sale fall into two groups :

1. One in which the vendor calls himself a slave (*bꜣk*) with known parentage, *P. Rylands* VII.

2. Four in which the vendors are free—in three of them the father, as well as the mother, is mentioned [4]; the fourth, *Louvre* E. 706, gives only the father of the vendor, a woman.

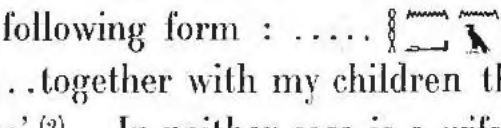
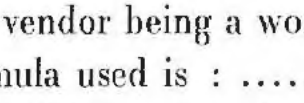
In these contracts, not only does the vendor binds him- or herself to the master *šꜣ ḏt* 'for ever', but his, or her, pledge covers offspring and gains, present and future.

[1] Notice that we are dealing with foreign slaves.

[2] The dispute in *P. Louvre* 3228 C may be compared with this one.

[3] Cf. *P. Berlin* 9785; *P. Gurob* II, 1; *P. Gurob* II, 2. Peet's commentary on the *Ḫnbt* in *Tomb Robberies* (text), pp. 18-20, is not without interest in this connection.

[4] *P. Rylands* III, VI, VII.

Concerning *Offspring*, the vendor states that he is not free ..... '.....together with my children who are born and those who shall be born to *us*' [1]. This formula takes also the following form : .....  '.....together with my children that are born and those who shall be born to *me*' [2]. In neither case is a wife mentioned. However, in *Louvre* E. 706 the vendor being a woman, no father (of the children) is mentioned, and the formula used is : .....  '.....together with *my* children which I shall bear'.

The question arises to which it is not possible to find satisfactory answers. (*a*) Do the future children of a slave, man or woman, automatically become slaves? (*b*) Does the absence of a wife or a husband from the contracts mean that a vaguely worded clause affects the unmentioned partner? In all likelihood children born after the sale, like future crops, could be included in the transaction before their birth, no matter who the father or mother is. Since the relation of a son to his father can be paralleled by that of a slave to his master, the transaction can cover everything capable of becoming the property of the slave [3]. There is also the possibility, as will be made clear below [4], that sale into servitude dissolves the authority of parents over their children.

The vendor has also to hand *earnings and property* over to his master, as is clear from the formula : 'everything that belongs to me and those things which I shall gain and the clothing on my back' [5]. Another formula reads : , etc. 'I am thy slave for ever. I shall not be able to be free from thee ever again, including my money, any corn [any kind of property] in the land, together with my children, etc.' [6].

(1) *P. Rylands* VI, also III and VII.

(2) *P. Rylands* V.

(3) Cf. *Louvre* E. 7832 in *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 57.

(4) See chapter on 'Enslavement and Emancipation'.

(5) *Louvre* E. 706 *rt.* 8-9 ; also *P. Rylands* III, V, and variants in *P. Rylands* VI, VII.

(6) *P. Rylands* VI.

In earlier contracts, where the oath is used, Djetewēre strengthens her binding pledge by an oath that she will never change her mind and withdraw a word of the contract. She concludes : 'As Amūn liveth and as Pharaoh, l. p. h., liveth, I shall never leave thee (*i. e.* the master) again—I shall not say "false!" to any word that is above. I shall not withdraw a word of them' [1].

However, in two self-sale contracts, namely *Louvre* E. 706 and *P. Rylands* V, the vendor not only binds him- or herself by an oath to the master, but also gives the master the right to impose a sort of penalty, in either kind or money, or both, on a third party who may unduely question the legitimacy of his right over the slave. This clause runs : 'He who shall come to thee (*i. e.* the master)... saying : "She is not thy slave", *he shall give thee any money, any corn which will please thy heart,* I being still thine as slave together with my children' [2]. As it stands, it seems that a slave enjoys a right the force of which is hard to understand from the legal point of view. Such enforcement might have been regulated in accordance with some existing law of which we are as yet unaware [3]. It must also be pointed out that this clause occurs in two other contracts of the same Dynasty (26th), dealing with the sale or grant of a place in the temple [4].

B. *'Unilateral' acts of self-dedication*

These acts also fall into two groups [5] :

1. Seven in which the fathers of the suppliants—who are not necessarily Egyptians—are mentioned. One is styled 'the Egyptian-born Greek [6]... (name lost) who is called Pedesobk, son of Nikanor and Artemidora', and

[1] *Louvre* E. 706 ; see pl. XVIII.

[2] *Louvre* E. 706.

[3] Griffith remarks that it is difficult to understand the legal force of this assertion, see *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 53, n. 8. Professor Glanville has pointed out to me that it is quite natural that such a clause should be included in a contract, since the vendor automatically has the right to contract on anything he wishes. However, while it is understandable that this applies to anything affecting himself : his property and his children ; it is only a little surprising that the clause should mention a fine imposed on a wrongful claimant.

[4] *P. Rylands* I, 6 ; II, 5.

[5] For the following classification see Thompson's article, *JEA* 26, 60 ff.

[6] Does it refer to 'Greek born in Egypt' = τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ? ; cf. *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 150, n. 5.

another (fem.) Tapenebtōn called Sarapis, daughter of Sosipolis and Teuxon (?).

2. Twenty-three in which the suppliant, boy or girl, is described as *ms-ḫ-nmḥ* 'free-born' or 'born in the precincts' with a named mother by an anonymous father described as 'I know not his name' or 'his name is not known'.

In these acts the suppliant may pledge himself to be a slave for 99 years [1] —apparently an ideal life-time.

The formula which covers both offspring and gains runs : 'I am [thy slave] together with my children and my children's children and all property and chattels [belonging to me] and those which I shall acquire from to-day onwards' [2].

Just as with contracts of self-sale, there is no clear information about the father and mother of the children. Is it a case of mere cohabitation, particularly if the suppliant is a woman? [3].

There are, however, two differences between these acts and self-sale contracts :

(1) The suppliant, in the dedication, pledges himself to pay regularly a rent on a private possession, for his protection by the god. The earnings out of which the suppliant pays his rent may be the wages of his work for others. In any case the suppliant in these acts is probably not regarded as a slave—a point which is discussed later, see pp. 120-121 below.

(2) In these acts, the suppliant is the only contracting party that is why they are called 'unilateral' acts, and the god's part is not included in the contract itself [4].

Failure to fulfil deeds of servitude

These documents, self-sales and dedications, contain no clauses covering failure to fulfil the agreement, but only an assurance such as : 'I shall not withdraw a word of them' [5]. Nor is anything clear about the case of the

[1] *P. BM* 10624, 12-13.
[2] *P. BM* 10624, 12-13.
[3] Cf. *JEA* 26, p. 69.
[4] In other affairs the part of the God was taken by his priests who expressed the god's will through 'oracles'.
[5] *Louvre* E. 706, *vs.* 4.

death of the master and the obligations of his heir. To declare that the slave's children will also be the master's slaves is a one-sided state of affairs : the slave's children and descendants are to be slaves, but it is not stated that the master's children and descendants will be their masters, bound by the same agreement. There may, however, be no choice for future generations of either party. These difficulties seem to be partly removed by the fact that we have three contracts of servitude in which Peftu'ukhons pledges himself to be the slave of Essemtu in different years. This may lead to the conclusion that such contracts have to be renewed from time to time [1].

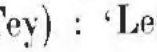
Generally speaking, the status of the vendors and the suppliants in these deeds differ from that of slavery proper—they are, at least, not hired or sold.

Claims

Like any other chattel, the slave is recoverable by *claim*. Aḥmose writes to his master, Tey : 'Why has the female slave who was with (*ḥn'*) me been taken away and given to another?' [2].

Such claims are, however, governed by special conditions :

a. We are told in *P. BM* 10107 that a dispute regarding a claim to a slave might be settled in the 'council of officials'. The text runs : 'It is a message to inform you about the matter of the female slave who is in charge of count Tetimosĕ [3]. He has sent me the chief bowman... to say : "Come, then you shall be judged with him (as) he has not answered...—what the overseer of peasants Ra'mosĕ has said : Behold, as to the female slave of count Meni (Nefi), he does not hearken to me (*i. e.* my proposal), to be judged with me in the council of officials" '.

b. The possessor can offer to do the work of a slave whose return is claimed by the owner. Aḥmose says to Tey with regard to his claim to a female slave who was with him (Tey) : 'Let her value  be taken with me [4],

[1] Compare *P. Rylands* V-VII, also *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 51.

[2] *P. Louvre* 3230 b. The use of *ḥn'* may indicate that the slave is not owned by Aḥmose. In any case, the text is an example of a claim to a slave.

[3] Glanville wrongly 'Tetisheri'.

[4] *'Imi šsp·tw šbt·s ḥn'·i*, obscure, see Peet's note in which two alternative renderings are suggested.

as, truly, she is a young girl and cannot work like any female slave of my master'.

c. The vendor himself can guarantee the buyer that there will be no future claims to the slave. Aḥmose attests that : 'Whoever shall come to thee (*i.e.* the buyer) on account of him (*i.e.* the slave) in my name or the name of any man in the land, including brother, sister, father, mother, master, mistress or myself likewise, saying : "He is not thy slave", I shall make him far from thee... thy slave being still thine, together with his children unto eternity' [1].

d. In a contract of voluntary servitude, a female slave entitles her master to claim her wherever she is : 'Thou (*i. e.* the master) art to follow me in any house in which thou shalt find me' [2].

Claim to fugitive

If the slave runs away, it may be inferred, from the two relevant texts known to me, that the master may claim him wherever he is. Kakemwēr writes : [3] 'I was sent forth from the king's halls... after the two slaves ... I was told that the news from the South was that they crossed (the boundaries)...' The text later continues : 'When my letter reaches you, write to me all that happened to them, who found their tracks?... What men were after them? Write to me all that happened to them'.

This text actually gives but a vague idea of a right to claim a fugitive, particularly if the slave has already taken refuge with another person. However, *P. BM* 10107, discussed on p. 78 above, shows that a girl slave may leave her master, and any claim to her should be considered in the council of officials.

Delicts of slaves

In relation to delicts, theft is mentioned in a Ramesside document which gives a list of the objects stolen by a female slave (*ḥmt*) and the penalties attached to the stolen objects [4]. The text does not indicate that the property stolen belonged to the master of the slave. No punishment is exacted—only

[1] *P. Turin;* see pl. XX.

[2] *Louvre* E. 706 ; this is, indeed, a right which every owner possesses.

[3] *LEM* 66, 15-67, 8.

[4] *JEA* 23, 186-187 ; a thief-slave is also mentioned in *P. BM* 10052, 2 A, 4, 9.

three times the value of the objects in money and kind [1], not in terms of service [2]. Whom the claims were made against is not stated.

From *P. BM* 10107, which deals with a fugitive slave, and has already been quoted above, there is nothing to show that the slave will be tried in the contemplated legal proceedings as having committed a delict. Her new master, who has sheltered her, will no doubt be called upon to defend the slave's action—and probably also his own claim to ownership of the fugitive—at the court. Nowhere else do I find any information as to the escape of a slave and its judicial aspect.

Similarly, no document known to me explains what the master's punishment is, if he commits a delict against the slave. Information whether injuries to, torture and killing of the slave are punishable acts is also not available [3].

King's protection of temple-slaves

Slaves assigned to a temple may be protected by a royal decree—not dissimilar from those of the Old Kingdom—forbidding their removal for other works. Violation of the decree is regarded as a punishable act. King Sethōs I orders: '....any inspector or any person who shall take any person belonging to the House (etc.) by capture from (one) district for (another) district, by corvée (?) as impressed (?) for ploughing (or) impressed for harvesting; likewise he who shall take any woman or any person belonging to the House (etc.)—likewise their slaves—by capture to do any work whatsoever.... punishment shall be done to him by beating him with two hundred blows and five pierced wounds, together with exacting the work of the person belonging to the Residence (etc.) from him for every day that he shall spend with him, to be given to the House (etc.)' [4].

[1] In Hittite law, the slave's penalty for a delict is half the amount exacted from a free person for the same offense. We do not know, however, whether this regulation may not be due to the fact that a slave is usually poorer than a free person; cf. Korošec, *Festschrift Paul Koschaker*, p. 137.

[2] Cf. for instance *Nauri Stela*, n. 4 below.

[3] However, in *Diodorus*, I, § 77, the wilful murderer of a slave (δοῦλος) was punished by being put to death.

[4] *Nauri Stela*, ll. 43-45. I have quoted Griffith's translation; for the latest study of this decree read W. Edgerton, *JNES* VI (1947), 152-160 and 219-236.

Captives

Captives may be regarded as a *res*, and it is intended to discuss this question, as a whole, in the chapter on 'Enslavement and Emancipation'.

To sum up

From the scanty evidence we have of slavery from the Old Kingdom to the beginning of the New Kingdom, it seems that during that period the slave possessed no rights. The master enjoyed exclusive power, though the acquisition of slaves was registered at a government office. Foreign slaves appear in the Middle Kingdom documents, which also suggest a tendency to own female slaves only.

The *iswy* and the *ḫmwt* were marked by having their heads shaven, sometimes with a pigtail left. In general, there seems to have been no distinction in treatment between male and female slaves. Both were put to work in the *pr-šnᶜ*, *ḫ(w)t-nṯr* and the *pr-ḏt*. Domestic slaves (only females) were comparatively rare and their status is not clear.

From the New Kingdom onwards the slave might be legally regarded as a chattel, owned, sold and disposed of in bequests and marriage settlements. His services could be sold by his master. However, to dispose of a slave or his services often entailed legal procedure in the form of contracts which display formulae of warranty, others against eviction and claim. The form of these contracts changed in the course of time. But there is one main feature of them all, namely that they are declarations from the *vendor only*, and every formula is intended to give effective ownership of the slave to the buyer.

This remark applies also to the late deeds of voluntary servitude in its two forms of self-sale and self-dedication. In the former category the vendor seems to sell himself in satisfaction of his debts since the clause stating the price may be regarded as fictitious. In the latter category the suppliant seems to keep the ownership of his land, since he pledges himself to pay a regular 'rent of service'. The clauses in both categories show the con-

dition of these vendors to have been so insecure that they gave their masters rights over their future earnings and children.

Of the delicts of slaves, only theft and flight are known. In the former case, no punishment was exacted—only (generally speaking) a fine of three times the value of the stolen objects. In the latter case, the master seems to have been entitled to claim his slave—sometimes through the council of officials.

In the sale of slaves, the foreign origin—and even a record of the parents —of the slave was sometimes emphasized. No definite reasons for this can be given—it was possibly for the identification of the slave, who might in view of such data receive different treatment.

Some slaves were attached to temples, and in the New Kingdom, they were protected, as in the Old Kingdom, by royal decrees, violation of which entailed punishment. In the same period we notice a tendency to own female slaves.

II. *The slave as a* MAN

It is perhaps reasonable to infer that, as a chattel, the slave cannot possess any rights as a *man*. However, some texts show that the slave can play his role as a *man* in possession of rights.

Servile Cognatio

No document is known to me referring to marriage between two slaves, but only records in which one partner is a slave, the other a free person [1]. This may be because marriage between two slaves was not recognised, only cohabitation. It is clear from the deeds of self-sale and dedication that the enslavement of a man, or a woman, puts an end to any rights over children resulting from a marriage contracted before the enslavement. The variation

[1] However, in Hittite law marriage between slaves, as well as between a slave and a free person, is recognised. The fact that about half of the regulations connected with matrimonial law deal with slave-marriages makes one conclude that such marriages must have been frequent and important. Unlike the Egyptian documents, the Hittite ones have no mention of the master's approval ; see Korošec, *Festschrift Paul Koschaker*, pp. 134-136.

between the use of the singular pronoun in the formula : '...together with *my* children which *I* shall bear' [1] and the plural one in '...and those who shall be born to *us*' [2] without mentioning the slave's partner proves this point of view. In his article on self-dedications Sir Herbert Thompson infers from the fact that the fathers of some petitioners are unknown that there was a system of temple prostitution at the time [3]. In other words, it seems that although such relationships of kindred and affinity as parent and child, husband and wife, were necessarily recognised after enslavement, the rights and authority normally attaching to these were not recognised.

There are, however, two cases in which slaves married free persons, and the marriage had the master's recognition and support :

(*a*) The king's barber Sibastet tells us [4] : 'The... slave ( ) belonging to me... I obtained him because of my strength-of-arm while I was following the Ruler... I have given him my niece, Nebetta, to wife... She has shared with [my] wife and (my) sister likewise. [He] goes forth and he is not in need... If he assigns services [5] to my sister, he shall not be interfered with by anybody for ever'. This is followed by the names of the scribe and the witnesses in whose presence this marriage settlement was made.

(*b*) The second case, namely the 'Adoption Papyrus', is more illuminating, since it describes the purpose of the marriage and the status of the offspring. In the first place, the betrothal between a free man and a girl slave had the consent of the mistress—indeed, the mistress chose the husband, apparently without reference to the girl. Emancipation of the slave and her offspring comes as a result of this recognition. The text runs : 'I (the mistress) accepted him (the mistress's brother, Padiu) for her (*i. e.* the slave) and he is with her at this day. Now, behold, I have made her a free-woman of the land of Pharaoh, and if she bear either son or daughter, they shall be freemen of the land of Pharaoh in exactly the same way, they being with the stable-master, Padiu, this younger brother of mine' [6]. The

[1] *Louvre* E. 706, see pls. XVII-XVIII.
[2] *P. Rylands,* VI, see p. 75 above, n. 1.
[3] Cf. pp. 68-69 of the article.
[4] *BIFAO.*, 38, 217-234.
[5] *Ḥsb wnwt* ( ).
[6] Cf. ll. 21-25 of the text.

mistress then guarantees this and endorses it with an oath and the names of witnesses.

The question arises : what would be the status of the children of the emancipated slave if no declaration of the mistress had been made? To express it otherwise, did children born after the emancipation of their mother still belong to the master, even if the husband was a freeman? All that can be inferred from this document is that the children follow the status of their mother prior to her emancipation; or that the master is still entitled to hold his rights over the children of his emancipated slave. Emancipation may be granted to the slave, and, unless otherwise declared, it need not affect the offspring.

Master's legacy and gift to slaves

If a master makes a bequest to his slave, it seems, from the single piece of evidence we have, that he can do so after emancipating the slave. Nenûfer declares, after the adoption and emancipation of her slaves : 'If I have land in the country, or if I have any property in the world, or if I have merchandise (?), these shall be divided among my four children, Padiu being one of them' [1].

Now, is the validity of this disposition based on emancipation? Apparently these freed slaves are to have control over their new acquisitions.

The master may also grant his slave a dowry (lit. share) on the occasion of the slave's marriage to a free woman [2]. It is not clear whether we can apply the preceding principle to this case. Emancipation and bequest may not be independent of each other.

Slaves as proprietors

This leads to the consideration of a point relevant to the acquisitions made by slaves.

To begin with Ptolemaic documents of self-dedication, it is clear that in

[1] *Adoption Papyrus, vs.* 7-8. — [2] See Sibastet's stela, p. 83 above, n. 4.

these the suppliant gives up himself and his descendants into a status of slavery within the precincts of the god's estate. Nevertheless, the suppliant can retain the right to avail himself of his property, since he pledges himself to pay a regular 'rent of service'—possibly coming from his work for other persons (see pp. 120-121 below). But, that he cannot alienate his property is clear from Imḥotep's declaration : 'I am [thy slave] together with my children and my children's children and all the property and chattels [belonging to me]' [1]. The text continues : 'and those which I shall acquire from to-day onwards', which indicates two points :

(*a*) A slave under the protection of a master can acquire property for himself, though it is not clear whether such acquisition should have the master's recognition.

(*b*) A slave is deprived of free control over his property [2], acquired before or after the execution of the contract. His relation to his land may simply be personal, since he is entitled only to the fruits of his work.

In the contracts of self-sale, one is no doubt justified in concluding that the vendor can maintain his property, though deprived of free disposal of it [3].

We now pass on to an illuminating text, dating from the late Ramesside Period [4]. It deals with a citizenesses (*ʿnḫ n niwt*)-slave and a (*ḫm*) both in possession of lands, and the author cannot do better than give a translation of this hitherto unpublished text :

'(1) Deposition of the sandal-maker Penyūn. He said : "As for me, the citizeness Shedēse, a slave (*ḫm*) of mine, came to me saying : (2) "Take care of me, while I am alive, and you shall find (*gm*) the land (*p; t; n ;ḥt*) belonging to me. Do not let me give (*or* sell) it to another, (3) strange person". She gave me 1 1/4 *khet* of land. List of what I gave her for it (follows list of goods). (5) One came for taking away the gold, namely the carrier Pashed,

[1] *P. BM.* 10624, 11-12 ; cf. also *Louvre* E. 706, *P. Rylands* V, 4 ; VI, 3.

[2] 'The Greco-Egyptian slave', says Taubenschlag, 'is regarded as capable of owning property, the Roman is not ; ...whatever he possesses is merely considered his *peculium*...' (see his *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, p. 66, n. 101).

[3] See self-sale contracts, p. 75 above.

[4] Cairo stela $\frac{27}{24}\left|\frac{6}{3}\right.$ (see transcription, pls. III, IV).

(6) a slave of mine, and he said to me: "Give (me) my gold, then thou shalt furnish (?) for thyself the (7) 17 (?) *naubia* of sand belonging to me". I set him before the god, and he said: "Give gold (8) [for it (?)]". I gave it to the master of attendants, Ḥatiay...'.

'Deposition of the citizeness Ta'at. (9) She said: "As for me, Tabes, a slave of mine, came to me saying: "I am in straits (10) let something be given to me, and I will take away to myself the land (*p; t; n ;ḥt*) belonging to me which is with me. (11) Do not make me give (*or* sell) it to someone else". List of the land which she gave (*or* sold) to me (follows list of land). (12) What was given [to] her in exchange for them (follows list of goods—garments, grain, oil, etc.)'.

In a private communication, Dr. Gardiner kindly gave me references to slaves (*ḥmw*) as holders of land in Papyrus Wilbour [1]. They seem to be on the same footing as land-holders of the most diverse ranks, including even the vizier, though most of the people mentioned are of much lower station. At the same time, the land-holders stand in a relation difficult to determine to various temple and other land-owning institutions, in which these slaves occur [2].

Also, if, in the Ramesside document referred to on p. 79 above, the penalties for the theft of certain objects were exacted from the slave who stole them, this would prove that a slave could possess money [3].

While in *P. Wilbour* the exact status of the slaves as regards the land property is not clear, it is possible to throw some light on this point from the Cairo stela just translated:

(*a*) The slave, though a *citizeness,* but still belonging to a master, can possess land and have control over it.

(*b*) From the deposition of Ta'at, her slave could dispose of her own land property by selling it to her *mistress* in exchange for certain requirements.

(*c*) On the other hand, the deposition of the sandal-maker Penyūn shows

[1] These references are: Text A 8, 52; 23, 15; 26, 35; 35, 44; 36, 26; 46, 20; 49, 12; 51, 50; 78, 18; 81, 46; 82, 2.

[2] See the headings of the paragraphs in the papyrus in question.

[3] Also, in *P. BM.* 10052, 2 A, 4; a thief slave 'gave 5 *kites* of silver to NN in exchange for a... of wine'.

that the slave may give her property to a stranger : 'Take care of me, while I am alive and you shall find the land belonging to me. Do not make me give (*or* sell) it to another, strange person'.

So far, the matter is fairly clear, although we do not know how the slave acquires his property, and whether his transactions, involving sale, are valid without the consent of his master. The priority so given to the master may have some legal significance. On the other hand, the speech of Shedēse, quoted in the last paragraph, shows that the slave is unable to bequeath his property.

Citizenship, and humane attitude of owners

The above discussion clearly shows that the master's power is not unlimited. The relationship between the master and his slave is that of ownership. The slave may be a citizen. The term *'nḫ n niwt*, literally meaning a 'living person of the city', shows that the slave has been recognised, not as a mere chattel, but as a constituent member of the community. The nature of this citizenship is not, however, clearly defined. From Cairo stela $\frac{27}{24}\frac{6}{3}$ the slaves, who are regarded as citizens, are holders of land, though still under the ownership of a master. They can bargain for their property. Both these points constitute part of the rights of a citizen. In connection with this, the question may be raised : Are the *bꜣkw n pꜣ dmi*, mentioned in *P. Salt*, 124, *vs.* I, 17, on the same footing as these slaves? [1].

The Cairo stela just quoted shows also that the slave has a right to ask that he be taken care of, in return for which he may bequeath his property to his master.

As regards the slaves of a temple, an XVIIIth Dynasty inscription states : 'I was a man just upon earth, of whom God perceived that he would increase his virtues, one who did good to the slaves ( ) of his estate' [2]. Further, in the *Adoption Papyrus* the mistress shows her appreciation of her

[1] See p. 18 above, n. 7.

[2] *Tarkhan*, I, pl. 80, 40-42 ; cf. also the *Book of the Dead* (text), p. 250, 8 where the deceased declares : 'I did not slander a slave to his master'.

slaves' behaviour by adopting and emancipating them, even by inserting them in her will.

It is not without interest to refer, in this connection, to the status of bondage [1], as slaves (?) עבדים [2], of the Israelites in Egypt and their ill-treatment there by the overseers of works [3]—a status which led to the Exodus. However, it seems that the Israelites were organised into groups with their own scribes [4] and their status was that of a tribe heavily taxed with labour [5].

Slaves as witnesses in law-courts

In connection with the capacity of the slave to act as a witness in judicial proceedings we have one document, namely *P. BM.* 10052. In column IV, 15-16, 'the slave ( ) Degay of the attendant ( ), Shebeg, was brought for examination. They said to him, "What was the manner of your going with Bukha'af, this master of yours ( ), and with the men who were with him?" [6]'.

The slave's evidence may be against his master : 'The vizier said, "Let Painekh *her* servant ( ) be brought that he may accuse her". The slave ( ) Painekh was brought' [7].

The truth of a slave's statement may be examined by confrontation with another witness. 'There was brought the slave Amenpaytjew, of the attendant Iunneferamūn of the chief priest of Amūn. He was examined by beating with the stick, an oath was administered to him not to speak falsehood, in consequence of the deposition of the slave Degay. He said, "I saw nothing, let someone be brought to accuse me" [8]'.

[1] Cf. *Exodus*, XIII, 3, 14 and XX, 2 where Egypt is referred to as בית עבדים. On the meaning of עבד see the next note.

[2] Cf. *Deuteronomy*, VI, 21 where the Israelites refer to themselves by 'we were slaves of Pharaoh in Egypt' עבדיפועה. Since in *Exodus*, X, 7 the subjects of Pharaoh were also called 'slaves' one cannot tell whether the word עבד refers to a real slave or simply a person in the service of another, cf. the use of *b3kw* in the Old Kingdom, p. 17 above.

[3] Cf. *Exodus*, V, 14.

[4] Cf. F. Petrie, *Egypt and Israel* (1923), p. 31.

[5] See F. Petrie, *The Status of the Jews in Egypt*, pp. 19-20.

[6] Cf. also *Tomb Robberies*, pl. XXVIII, col. IV, 16.

[7] *P. BM.* 10052, X, 15-16 ; also XV, 5 ; evidence given by a slave against another man than his master.

[8] *P. Mayer* A, IV, 13-14.

However, a slave was entitled to refuse to obey instructions emanating from persons other than his master. The slave Kerba'al said : 'They came saying to me, Kerba'al, do you go with your companions and bring off this ox from Ihumeḫ, his brother. But I said, "I will not go. Am I who came [from] Syria one to be sent to Ethiopia? Let my master find out my fault and beat me for it". So said I, and I refused to go [1]'.

Extradition of fugitives

In the treaty between Ramsses II and Ḥattušili, king of the Hittites, are reciprocal clauses concerning people who come to one of the two countries, Egypt and Khatti, from the other *r ỉrt b;kw n ky* (var. *ktḫw*) [2] 'to become *b;kw* of another (var. others)' and are to be returned to their respective countries. The use of the term *b;k*, in the text, may be the same as in legal documents, where it refers to slaves [3]. Furthermore, the text refers in lines 22, 25 to these immigrants as *unknown*, possibly because they were only slaves. Since they are fugitives, possibly slaves who ran away from their masters, they would naturally not return. Whether the flight is due to ill-treatment, to difficulty of maintenance, to the simple desire of acquiring freedom or because the fugitives are criminals, one cannot tell. It is also not clear whether these fugitives would be handed back to their masters if they had been slaves.

On the other hand, a great man of Egypt or the land of Ḥatti who flees to the other country (cf. ll. 21-24 of the text) is not to be received by its ruler, who shall send him back to his own sovereign. The text does not mention that he becomes a *b;k* of others. This passage supports the point of view that the other category of people were perhaps slaves.

To sum up

The slave was not merely a chattel, but was also regarded as a human being. He had a right to marriage, but, in the two cases known to me this

[1] *P. BM.* 10052, XII, 6-10. — [2] See *Mitt. Vord. Asiat. Gesell.*, 7, pl. 10, 23, 25; *JEA*, 6, 193-194. — [3] Cf. the discussion on this point, p. 19 above.

was with a free person and had to be approved by the master. Other family relationships seem to be recognised, though under the authority of the master.

The slave could also be heard in the law-courts as a witness, and his deposition could even be against his master. He was entitled to refuse instructions not emanating from his master.

The treatment meted out to slaves was, thus, apparently not bad. The master could reward the slave for his good behaviour by emancipation. He has also to look after the slaves properly.

APPENDIX I

Translation of the hitherto unpublished *P. Louvre 3228 E*

(see pls. XII-XIV)

Sale-contract of a slave

Date : (1) .....(lost).....

Contracting Parties : (2) This day : the woman Tefyuyu, daughter of Pakhnūm, son of Pedekhons, has said to the water-pourer Pedubaste, (3) son of Pedamenope :

Declaration of the Vendor : (a) Transfer of the slave and receipt of the price : I have given to thee Mentirdais, the Ḳadjawadja of the North. I have received from thee (4) the 2 *debens*, 2 ½ *kites* of silver of the treasury of Harsaphes in exchange for him to-day... give it (?) (5) ...silver of the treasury of Harsaphes... water-pourer Pedubaste, son of Pedamenope... (6) the woman Tefyuyu, daughter of Pakhnūm, son of Pedekhons, has received the money of Menterdais, silver of the treasury (7) of Harsaphes : 2 *debens*, 2 ½ *kites*.

(b) Oath and Assertions : She said : As Amūn lives, and as Pharaoh lives, and as he is well, and Amūn gives him victory, they (*probably referring to both the slave and the money*) do not belong to a son or daughter, (8) a brother or sister or anyone in the whole land who will be able to claim (?) him tomorrow or after tomorrow.

(c) Warranty against Eviction : As to (9) him who shall speak, let not his utterance be heard in any bureau of writing.

Scribe, and Witnesses and their Declarations : (10) (scribe ?) Ḥōr, son of Djedkhons.

(11) In the presence of... Djedmentiufonkh... Deposition of the woman Tefyuyu, daughter of Pakhnūm, son of Pedekhons. (12) ...I have received the 2 (*debens*), 2 ½ *kites* of silver of the treasury of Harsaphes of the money of Mentirdais, the Ḳadjawadja (13) of the North; year 10, 4th month of summer, day 20.

(14) In the presence of *'Irt*... son of Ankh-khons, son of Pedamenope. Deposition of the woman Tefyuyu, daughter of Pakhnūm : (15) ...I have received the 2 (*debens*), 2 ½ *kites* of silver of the treasury of Harsaphes, the money of Mentirdai[s]... (16) together with all the writings which have been made above: year 10, 4th month of summer, day 20 of Pharaoh Shabaka, beloved of Amūn...

(17) In the presence of... Ipetisut, ...the treasury of Pharaoh Wenenresy (??)... (18) Deposition of the woman Tefyuyu, daughter of Pakhnūm, she said : I have received the 2 *debens*, 2 ½ *kites* of silver (19) of the treasury of Harsaphes together with the... writing which has been made above; year 10, 4th month of summer, day 20.

(20) In the presence of Pedamūn... Deposition of the woman Tefyuyu, daughter of Pa[khnūm] (21). She has said to the water-pourer Pedubaste, son of Pedamenope : I have received from thee the 2 *debens*, 2 ½ *kites* of silver (22) of the treasury of Harsaphes, the money of Mentirdais, the Ḳadjawadja of the North, together with (23) the... writing which has been made above; year 10, 4th month of summer, day 20.

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATION OF

A. P. Turin (*Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 28, no. 46—translated, pp. 58-59) —temp. Darius I—see transcription, pl. XX.

B. Aramaic Papyrus no. 28 (A. COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*, pp. 103-106)—temp. Darius II.

Note : These documents differ in character : the first being concerned with the *sale* of a slave, the second dealing with the *transfer* of a slave as *share of inheritance*, yet they are given together here on account of the striking similarity of their formulae.

A

Date : (1) Year 5. Pharmouthi, of Pharaoh Darius, I. p. h.

Contracting Parties : Aḥmose, son of Psamētjik, his mother being Iereterou, has said to the shrine-opener of the House of Amūn Tjawmūt, son of Neskhons, his mother being Neskhons.

Declaration of the Vendor : (a) TRANSFER OF THE SLAVE AND RECEIPT OF THE PRICE : (2) Thou hast caused my heart to agree to the money of the Syrian, Psheren [1], son of Dḥutmose, his mother being Khedebierbone, my slave whom I have sold to thee. He is thine, (3) he is thy slave.

(b) WARRANTY AGAINST EVICTION, AND PENALTY : Whoever shall come to thee on account of him (*i. e.* the slave) in my name or the name of any man in the land, including brother, sister, father, mother, master, mistress or myself likewise, saying : 'He is not (4) thy slave', I shall make him far from thee. If I do not make him far from thee, I shall give thee silver... of the treasury

[1] See p. 56, n. 1 above.

of Ptaḥ, of refined silver, [4] silver *debens* (and) 9 2/3 + 1/6 + 1/10 + 1/30 + 1/60 + 1/60 *kītes*, (5) making 5 silver *debens* of the treasury of Ptaḥ again.

(c) Confirmation : Thy slave being still ever thine, together with his children unto eternity.

(Scribe's signature follows and presumably signatures of witnesses on the back).

B [1]

Date : (1) On the 24th of Shebaṭ, year 13, that is the day 9 of Haṯor, year 14 (of) Darius, the king of Yēb, the fortress.

Contracting Parties : (2) Maḥseiah, son of Natan, has said (to) Yedoniah, son of Natan, both Aramaeans of Syene, of the standard of W....t, as follows:

Declaration of the Co-heir (?) : (a) Disposal of the Legacy, and Confirmations : We agree (3) together and divide among us the slaves of Mebṭaḥiah, our mother; and behold, this is the part which has come to thee as part—thou, Yedoniah : (4) Peṭosiri, his name, his mother being Teba, a Yod (?) slave on whose right hand is marked in Aramaic script as follows : (5) 'of Meṭaḥiah'; and behold, this is the part which has come to me—I, Maḥseiah : Bela, his name, his mother being Teba, a Yod (?) slave (6) on whose right hand is marked in Aramaic script as follows : 'of Mebṭaḥiah'.

Thou, Yedoniah, art free to dispose of Peṭosiri, (7) this slave which has come to thee as share from this day until for ever, and thy sons after thee and to whom ever thou wishest thou mayest give (him).

(b) Warranty against Eviction, and Penalty : I shall not be able, (8) I, Maḥseiah, and a son and daughter of mine, and brother and sister of mine, and any man of mine to move a law-case against thee or against thy son concerning Peṭosiri, (9) his name, this slave who has come to thee as share. If we move the case against thee concerning him (?), we, Maḥseiah and my son; or (if) we move a case against (10) a son or daughter of thine or a man of thine concerning Peṭosiri, this thy slave who has come to thee as share, we shall

[1] I am indebted to Dr. C. Rabin for a literal rendering of this document.

then give to thee a fine (11) pure silver, ten *kershin* [1] in the weight of the king, and we are far from thee and from thy sons from a law-case concerning this Peṭosiri (12) who has come to thee as a share.

(c) Confirmation again : To thee (or, thine) he shall be and to thy sons after thee and whom ever thou wantest thou mayest give him, there being no law-case.

(Witnesses follow, then the Scribe).

[1] 10 *debens*.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC ASPECTS [1]

The social and economic conditions of any community are intimately connected. To satisfy the economic requirements, as governed by the community's environment, the main factor of production, namely the people, necessarily falls into classes.

Position of slaves

In the social strata, the slaves' position is the lowest; for, as has already been made clear, such persons are reduced to the status of chattels [2], owned and given to whom the owners like [3].

As a result of war many captives became slaves [4]. Slaves were also recruited from foreigners other than captives [5], but no conclusive evidence is known to me that natives were also enslaved [6]—proper names are not altogether helpful on this point [7]. Those who voluntarily surrendered themselves into servitude for special reasons seem to have enjoyed more favourable conditions. The possibility that they are not bequeathed and sold tends to put these people in another social rank than that of slavery proper [8].

However, the evidence that we have, from the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards, as to the position of the slave [9], shows that this was by no means at the most

[1] The Social-economic Aspects of 'Captives' are excluded.

[2] Reduction to the status of human chattels (*n-ḏ(y)t*) is regarded as punishment; cf. *Nauri Stela*, 1, 7/4, and p. 39 above.

[3] Cf. p. 11 above.

[4] See pp. 109-112 below.

[5] *E. g.* Slaves from Kerke, Syria, Cana'an, Kush in *LEM* 52, 11-16; *P. Bologna 1086*; the 'man of the North' mentioned in *Louvre documents* nos. 3228 A, 'E, 'F.

[6] Cf. the status of the *mr(y)t* in the Old Kingdom, pp. 22, 23 above; also of the girls who were forced to work, p. 15 above.

[7] See the 'Index of Proper-Names', pp. 103-107 below.

[8] See pp. 8, 9 above and pp. 119-121 below.

[9] In the Old and Middle Kingdoms the evidence is lacking.

abject level of servitude. He could marry a free girl and even be a land-holder [1], with a right to give his land to strangers. Although a slave is known to be a citizen from Cairo stela $\frac{27}{24}\frac{6}{3}$, yet we must not confuse conditions within the class, and the institution itself which remained as such.

That women of servile status acted as concubines to an individual, or in a religious institution, is not clear from the documents known to me. It may, however, be inferred from the 'Adoption Papyrus' that the female slave Dinihetiri gave birth to three children through concubinage. Dr. Gardiner's remark reads : 'Who the father was is not stated, but possibly an Egyptian reader would have taken it for granted that the father was none other than Nebnūfer himself. Against such conjecture it can hardly be objected that in the first declaration Nebnūfer was said to have no child except the wife he adopted, since what was true at that time may not have been true later'. A similar view may be taken of women who sold or dedicated themselves [2].

Throughout the period covered by this thesis [3], the female slave seems to have a special mark : in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, they had shorn heads, sometimes with a pigtail [4]; in the New Kingdom, both male and female *captives* were alike branded with the king's name [5].

The slaves are, however, sometimes well treated by their masters. Two clear examples [6] are known to me :

(*a*) In *P. Berlin* 9784, 8-9, a female slave is not compelled to work on hot days;

(*b*) In the 'Adoption Papyrus', *rt.* 17-21, the mistress states [7] : 'I took them (*i. e.* the slaves) and nourished them and brought them up, and I have reached this day with them without their doing evil towards me, but they dealt well with me, I having no son or daughter except them'. They have even become her heirs (after emancipation and adoption) as is clear from 'And if I have fields in the country, or if I have any property in the world,

[1] See pp. 84-87 above.

[2] Cf. *Louvre* E. 706 and self-dedications, pp. 76, 77 above.

[3] Excluding the Ptolemaic Period.

[4] See p. 68 above; for an example from the New Kingdom see Bruyère, *Deir Méd.*, II, p. 41, where a boy-slave is represented with a pigtail.

[5] See p. 110 below.

[6] See also 'Treatment', pp. 68, 69 above.

[7] I quote Dr. Gardiner's translation.

or if I have merchandise (?), these shall be divided among my four children, Padiu being one of them' (*vs.* 7-9) [1].

Owners of slaves

Apart from the king and temples as owners of slaves, we find, particularly from the Middle Kingdom onwards, people of diverse ranks as owners.

In the Old Kingdom, they belonged to a 'king's wife', 'king's son and daughter' and to a 'companion' or an 'official' [2]. They are also owned by a 'prophet' [3] and by high officials [4]. In the Middle Kingdom, an 'ordinary lector priest' may have a number of 'human chattels' [5]; a 'count and hereditary prince' may also own slaves [6]. A *ḫri-tp nsw*, etc. can acquire a number of *mr(y)t* with the knowledge of officials [7]. In general, during the Old Kingdom there is a tendency to enslave females [8]—in the Middle Kingdom to own them [9]. In the disorders pictured in P. Leiden 344 (VI, 7-8) slaves (*rmṯ ḏt*) are perhaps said to become masters of human chattels (*ḏt ?*) [10].

With the advent of the New Kingdom, documents show slave-owners of the following kinds : herdsman, *P. Berlin* 9784, 3 ; son of a soldier, *P. Berlin* 9784, 22 ; citizeness, *P. Gurob*, II, 1, 3 ; *P. Cairo* 65739 ; *P. BM* 10052, X, 11, XI, 4 ; *w'b*-priest, *P. Gurob*, II, 1, 4 ; Bryce Tablet, 2 ; king's barber, *BIFAO*, 38, 217 ; stable-master, 'Adoption Papyrus', *rt.* 15 ; charioteer, *P. Leiden* 352, 1 (cf. *JEA*, 23, 186) ; scribe in the place of truth, Bruyère, *Deir Méd.*, II, p. 41 ; attendant (*sḏmy*), *P. BM* 10052, II, 23, IV, 15, 28 ;

(1) Cf. a parallel in *Genesis*, XV, 2-3 where a household slave has become an heir to his master in default of offspring.

(2) *Urk.* I, 210, 14-15.

(3) *Mastabas*, p. 199 ; there are other titles besides 'prophet'.

(4) *E. g.* Metjen's inscription, *Urk.* I, 1-7 ; also *op. cit.*, 12, 9-13.

(5) *Kahun*, pl. 10, see pp. 36, 37 above.

(6) Cf. *Mortuary Contract*, see p. 18 above, n. 1.

(7) *BM. Stelae*, I, pl. 54, see pp. 22, n. 4 ; 37, n. 1 above. Attention should also be drawn to the stela of Samentuser who was *ḫrp-sḫ*, *wr-pr*, etc., see p. 22 above, n. 3 ; also Sinuhe.

(8) See p. 15 above.

(9) Cf. discussion on *ḫm*, pp. 30-32 above. Similar tendency is noticed in the New Kingdom ; cf. *Four Papyri ; Ostr. Hiérat.* ; Cairo stela $\frac{27}{24}\frac{6}{3}$, see pp. 85-86 above.

(10) Dr. Gardiner remarks that this *ḏt* is extremely uncertain, cf. *Admonitions*, p. 48.

singer, *P. BM* 10052, IV, 25, VII, 2; merchant, *P. BM* 10052, VIII, 2; *P. BM* 10053, *rt.*, IV, 10; sandal-maker, Cairo stela $\frac{27}{24}\frac{6}{3}$; 'Comforter of the father's heart', *P. Rylands* nos. V-VII.

In the Old and Middle Kingdoms the ownership of slaves has to be acknowledged and registered officially [1].

Judging from the disputes arising from the purchase or delicts of slaves in the New Kingdom, it seems that matters concerning them at that period had to be officially dealt with. Only sale-contracts can give a picture of the manner in which ownership of slaves could be effected [2].

Number of slaves

The number of slaves owned by an individual of course varies : 'I have acquired', says NN, '3 male slaves and 7 female slaves in addition to that which my father gave me' [3]. One may own one of each : 'Moreover, I have given 10 packages (?) to this lector priest and a *b;k* and a *b;kt* to each' [4]. In *Cairo* 20161 the number of male and female slaves reaches about 14, and in *Kahun*, pls. 10, 11, it is about 22 [5]. However, in the shipwrecked sailor NN says : 'I was presented with 200 people (*tpw*)' [6]. From the New Kingdom onwards, the documents show that the number is in most cases 2 [7] or 1; but in *P. Turin* 2021, III, 1-2, it reaches 9 together with children. Captives are, of course, not included in this chapter.

Price of slaves

Four documents are known to me where the price of a slave is mentioned :

(*a*) *P. Louvre* 3228 A informs us that a man of the North was bought for 2/5 *debens* of silver.

[1] Cf. pp. 14, 22, 23 (the title *imy-r iswy* (*mr(y)t*) above.

[2] See 71 ff. above.

[3] See p. 17 above, n. 5.

[4] See p. 18 above, n. 1.

[5] Compare also the number in *BM. Stelae*, I, pl. 54.

[6] *MES*, 47, 14-15, where is a wrong transcription of .

[7] *P. Gurob*, II, 1; Bryce Tablet; *P. Berlin* 9784; *Tomb Robberies*; Cairo stela $\frac{27}{24}\frac{6}{3}$; *P. Louvre* 3228 F (3 female slaves).

(*b*) Euerot stela, 32 male and female slaves are valued at 15 *debens* and 1 1/3 (*sic*) *kites*, which averages about 4 2/3 *kites* each, male or female [1].

(*c*) *P. BM* 10052, X, 19, the slave Painekh cost 2 *debens* of silver.

(*d*) *P. Cairo* 65739, 6-8, Erēnofre paid 4 *debens* and 1 *kite* of silver.

However, in *P. BM* 10052, 15 slaves are apparently acquired in exchange for crops from the garden—no price is stated.

Any dispute that may arise over the purchase had, as *P. Cairo* 65739 states, to be settled at the law court [2].

Slave-labour [3]

Judging from the evidence that we have, the slaves called *mr(y)t* were employed in field-work [4] (so was also a *ḫm*) [5]. The *ḏt* slaves were concerned with work connected with funerary service such as bringing offerings, grinding corn, slaughtering, brewing, etc. [6]. The *iswww* in Cairo stela 56994 had perhaps a similar occupation (see pl. I). One *ḫm* was a washer, one a goldsmith [7]. The nature of the work is however, obscure in the cases of the female slaves mentioned among the workers in the Necropolis [8], the *ḏt* enumerated among the members of the household in *Kahun*, pls. 10, 11, or the slaves sold by contracts in later period as illustrated by *P. Louvre* 3228 A, 3228 E, 3228 F.

[1] Cf. *JEA* 27, 94; it may be pointed out that in the stela of Shoshenk (*op. cit.*, p. 85, ll. 14-18), each male, except Pewēr, attached to the cult of Nemrat's statue is valued at 6 2/3 *kite*. It is, however, by no means certain that they are slaves.

[2] See pp. 73, 74 above.

[3] To be compared with captives' labour, pp. 114-115 below see also the chapter on 'Slave-Terminology' above.

[4] *E. g. Urk.* I, 210, 14-15; see also discussion on *mr(y)t*, pp. 22, 23 above.

[5] *P. Bologna* 1086; Bruyère, *Deir Méd.*, II, p. 41; cf. probably also *LRL*, 10, 12-14, 124.

[6] Cf. *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54; Äg. *Inschrr.* I, pp. 124, 183.

[7] *P. BM.* 10052, VII, 5: the *ḫm* says, 'I washed it (a garment)'; *Abbott Dockets* A, 26; in *LEM*, 27, 4-5 the *ḫm* works in a stable.

[8] Černý, *Ostr. Deir Méd.*, nos. 177, 179, 182 etc., see p. 102 below.

Price of labour, and ration

In connection with slave labour, the question of its value arises. Evidence regarding this is lacking before the XVIIIth Dynasty. Taking *one* day as a *unit* of service, and the silver *deben* as the *unit* of value, the results at which I have arrived are as follows :

(*a*) *P. Berlin* 9784, 3-6 : a day's service of a female slave, 1/6 *deben;* 7-8 : a day's service of another female slave, 1/4 *deben;* 23-25 : a day's service of same, 1/6 *deben*.

(*b*) *P. Gurob* II, 1, 4-7 : a day's service of *two* female slaves, 1/8 (?) *deben;* 2, 15-17 : a day's service of a female slave, 1/5 (?) *deben*.

Sometimes, as the documents show, the slaves (who, in these cases, are all female, *ḫmt*) were given only a kind of ration (monthly ?) in spelt and barley. The following are examples of such rations for single slaves :

(*a*) Munich ostracon 22 *a*, 6, 10 [1], one sack.

(*b*) Černý, *Ostr. Deir Méd.*, II : 177, 3, 3 sacks and 3 *ḥeḳats* of spelt; 179, 3, 6 sacks and 1 1/2 *ḥeḳats* of barley; 182, 3, 1 sack and 3 *ḥeḳats* of spelt; 184, 3, probably 4 *ḥeḳats* of barley.

(*c*) Černý, *Ostr. Hiérat.* (*C G C*) : 25608, *rt.*, 8, 1 1/2 sacks of barley and 1 1/2 sacks of spelt.

Organisation

As regards the methods adopted for labour organisation, we possess only documents dealing with the *mr(y)t*. Since in the Old Kingdom it is not certain whether these *mr(y)t* were recruited from captives, it is justifiable to deal here with the organisation of this class [2]. They had a scribe [3] and an overseer of scribes [4]. There was an overseer of the two departments (*iswy*) where they are registered : one for Upper and one for Lower Egypt [5]. This fact is explained by the title *imy-r iswy ḫry ḫtm mr(y)t* 'overseer of the two departments of registration (lit. having the seal) of the *mr(y)t*-slaves' [6].

[1] Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I*, text, p. 65. — [2] See pp. 22, 23 above. — [3] *Teti Cemet.* I, p. 192. — [4] *Mastabas*, p. 43. — [5] *Saqqara*, II, p. 13. — [6] *LD* II, 64, *b*.

To sum up

Since he was a chattel, the slave's position in society was the lowest, in spite of the fact that he enjoyed some rights, including citizenship and ownership of land.

The family of a *dt* remained *dt*, so also a family of people in voluntary servitude. Apart from the king and temples, people of diverse ranks owned slaves. Male slaves rarely appear in the service of individuals from the Old Kingdom to the Ramesside Period. The number of slaves owned by individuals naturally varied.

The slaves are mostly found employed in funerary service—the part played by them in domestic service is not clear. The value of their work (apparently female slaves only) is estimated at an average of 1/5 *deben* per day, and their maintenance ranges between 7 and 25 1/2 *hekats* of barley and spelt per month (?). As to the price of a slave, it is not known to exceed 4 *debens* and 1 *kite* of silver.

The documents of the Old Kingdom show that the *mr(y)t* are attached to the *pr-šn'* and have a scribe and offices for registration, so also the *ỉswww*. From the New Kingdom onwards, disputes and hire of services or sale of a slave were carried out in a formal manner, in the court and in the presence of witnesses.

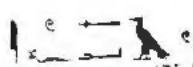
Proper Names

'ỈSWW

(See pl. I of Cairo Stela no. 56994)—(O.)

(See Junker, *Giza* III, p. 179)—(O.)

B;K AND *B;KT*

 (m.) *Rec. tr.*, 16, p. 70—(N.)

(m.) *P. Rylands*, no. VII—(L.)

(f.) *P. BM.* 10622, 7-Pt.

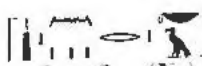
(m.) *P. BM.* 10052. XV, 12—(N.)

ḤM AND *ḤMT*

(f.) Cairo no. 20088, *k*—(M.)

(f.) Cairo no. 20470, *f*—(M.)

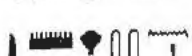
(m.) *Abbott Dockets* A, 26—(N.)

 (m.) *P. BM.* 10053, I, 13—(N.)

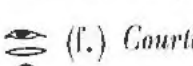
(m.) *BIFAO* 38, p. 219—(N.)

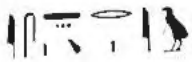
(m.) *P. BM.* 10052, IV, 28—(N.)

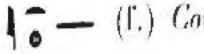
(m.) *Wilbour Pap.* 49, 12—(N.)

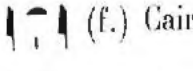
 (f.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 14—(N.)

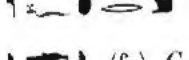
(m.) *P. BM.* 10052, II, 8; II A, 4—(N.)

 (f.) *Courtiers*, pl. 24—(M.)

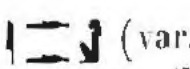
 (f.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 11—(N.)

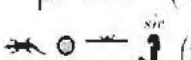
 (f.) *Courtiers*, pl. 22—(M.)

 (f.) Cairo no. 20549, *a*—(M.)

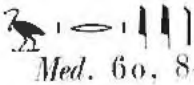
 (f.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 12—(N.)

 (f.) *Courtiers*, pl. 22—(M.)

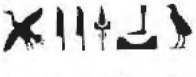
 (var.) (f.) *BIFAO*. 30, p. 111—(M.)

 (m.) *Bryce Tablet*. l. 3—(N.)

(f.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 10—(N.)

 (f.) Černý, *Ostr. Deir Med.* 60, 8—(N.)

(f.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 7—(N.)

 (m.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 6—(N.)

(m.) *P. BM.* 10052, X, 16—(N.)

(m.) *Wilbour Pap.* 78, 18—(N.)

(m.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 13—(N.)

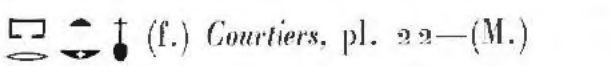
(m.) *Wilbour Pap.* 46, 20—(N.)

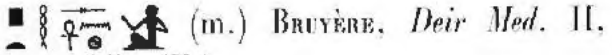
(m.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 5—(N.)

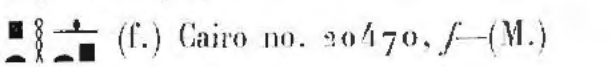
(m.) *Wilbour Pap.* 26, 35—(N.)

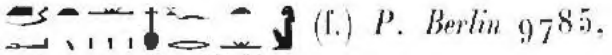
(m.) *P. BM.* 10052, IV, 25; VII, 2—(N.)

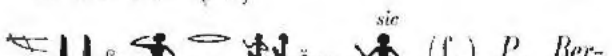
(m.) Cairo Stela no. $\frac{27}{24}\frac{6}{3}$—(N.)

 (f.) *Courtiers*, pl. 22—(M.)

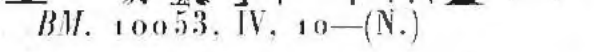
 (m.) Bruyère, *Deir Med.* II, p. 65—(N.)

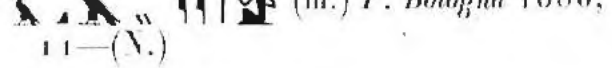
 (f.) Cairo no. 20470, *f*—(M.)

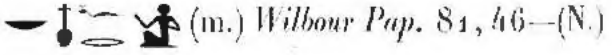
 (f.) *P. Berlin* 9785, l. 11-13—(N.)

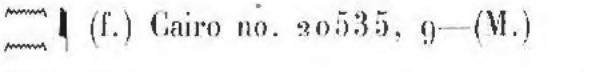
 (f.) *P. Berlin* 9784, 9—(N.)

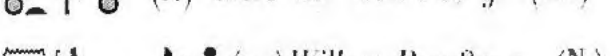
(m.) *P. BM.* 10053, IV, 10—(N.)

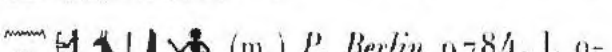
 (m.) *P. Bologna* 1086, 11—(N.)

 (m.) *Wilbour Pap.* 81, 46—(N.)

 (f.) Cairo no. 20535, 9—(M.)

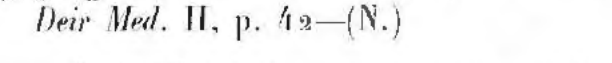
 (f.) Cairo no. 20535, 9—(M.)

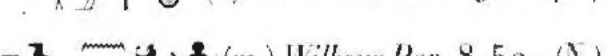
 (m.) *Wilbour Pap.* 82, 2—(N.)

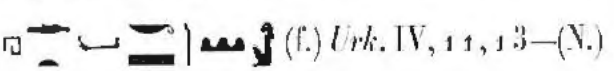
 (m.) *P. Berlin* 9784, l. 9-10—(N.)

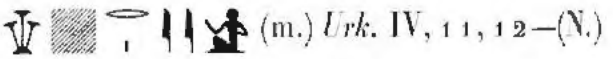
(f.) Cairo no. 20098, *c*—(M.)

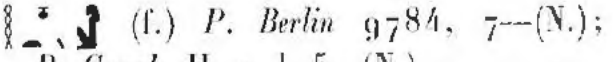
(f.) Louvre C. 15—(M.); Bruyère, *Deir Med.* II, p. 42—(N.)

 (f.) Cairo no. 20549, *c*—(M.)

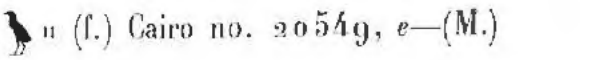
 (m.) *Wilbour Pap.* 8, 52—(N.)

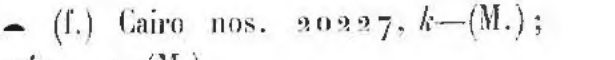
 (f.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 13—(N.)

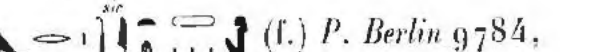
 (m.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 12—(N.)

 (f.) *P. Berlin* 9784, 7—(N.); *P. Gurob*, II, 1, l. 5—(N.)

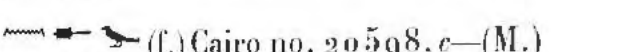
(m.) Bruyère, *Deir Med.* II, p. 41—(N.)

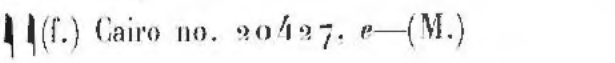
 (f.) Cairo no. 20549, *e*—(M.)

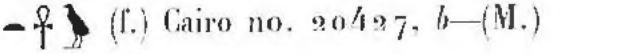
 (f.) Cairo nos. 20227, *k*—(M.); 20427, *e*—(M.)

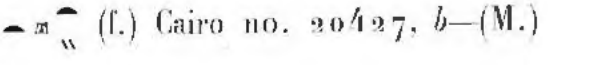
 (f.) *P. Berlin* 9784, 5; *P. Gurob* II, 1, l. 4, II, 2, l. 15—(N.)

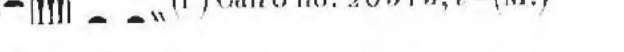
(f.) Cairo no. 20392, *e*—(M.)

 (f.) Cairo no. 20598, *c*—(M.)

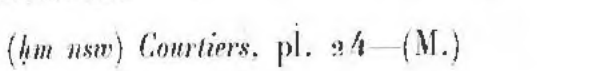
 (f.) Cairo no. 20427, *e*—(M.)

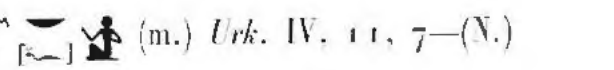
 (f.) Cairo no. 20427, *b*—(M.)

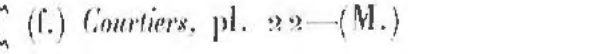
 (f.) Cairo no. 20427, *b*—(M.)

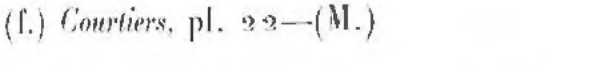
 (f.) Cairo no. 20515, *e*—(M.)

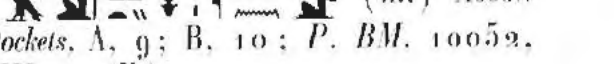
(f.) Cairo no. 20345, *g*—(M.)

 (m.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 11—(N.)

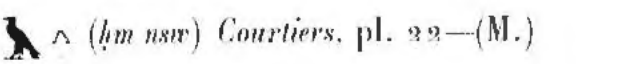
 (*ḥm nsw*) *Courtiers*, pl. 24—(M.)

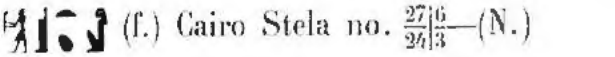
 (m.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 7—(N.)

 (f.) *Courtiers*, pl. 22—(M.)

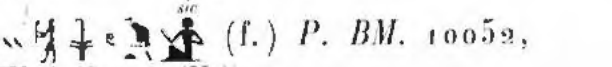
 (f.) *Courtiers*, pl. 22—(M.)

(m.) *Abbott Dockets*, A, 9; B, 10; *P. BM.* 10052, VIII, 2—(N.)

 (f.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 6—(N.)

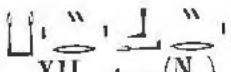
 (*ḥm nsw*) *Courtiers*, pl. 22—(M.)

(f.) Cairo Stela no. $\frac{27}{24}\frac{6}{3}$—(N.)

 (m.) *Wilbour Pap.* 35, 44—(N.)

 (f.) *P. BM.* 10052, XIV, l. 8-19—(N.)

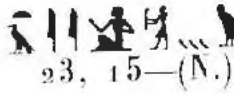
(m.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 9—(N.)

 (m.) *P. BM.* 10052, XII, 1—(N.)

(f.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 8—(N.)

 (f.) Cairo no. 65739, 4—(N.)

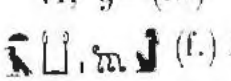
(f.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 5—(N.)

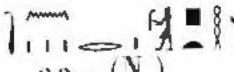
 (m.) *Wilbour Pap.* 23, 15—(N.)

(f.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 9—(N.)

(f.) Cairo Stela no. $\frac{27}{24}\frac{6}{3}$—(N.)

(f.) *P. BM.* 10053 *recto*, VI, 9—(N.)

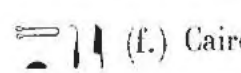
 (f.) *P. BM.* 10053, V, 9—(N.)

 (m.) Cairo no. 65739, 22—(N.)

(f.) Cairo no. 20098, *d*—(M.)

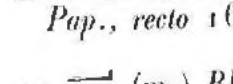
(f.) Cairo no. 20535, *g*—(M.)

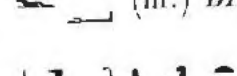
(m.) *Wilbour Pap.* 36, 36.

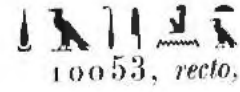
 (f.) Cairo no. 20549, *e*—(M.)

-and variants (m.) *P. BM.* 10052, II, 23; IV, 15; XIV, ll. 1, 5, 7, 19; XVI, 6—(N.)

(f.) *Adoption Pap., recto* 16—(N.)

 (m.) *BIFAO*, 30, 111—(M.)

 (f.) *P. BM.* 10053, *recto*, III, 4—(N.)

 (m.) *Urk.* IV, 11, 10—(N.)

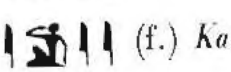
N-D(Y)T

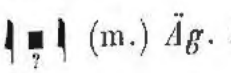
(m.) *BM. Stelae*, I, pl. 51—(M.)

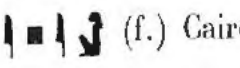
(m.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 51—(M.)

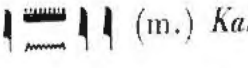
DT

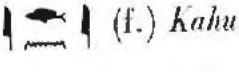
(f.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

 (f.) *Kahun* pl. 10, 13—(M.)

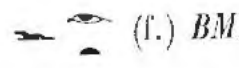
 (m.) *Äg. Inschrr.* I, p. 124—(F. I.)

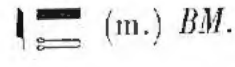
 (f.) Cairo no. 20161, *c*—(M.)

 (m.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, 9—(M.)

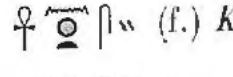
 (f.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, ll. 8, 23—(M.)

(f.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

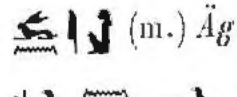
 (f.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

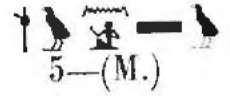
 (m.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

(m.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

 (f.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, 18—(M.)

(m.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

 (m.) *Äg. Inschrr.* I, p. 124—(F. I.)

 (m.?) *Kahun*, pl. 11, l. 4, 5—(M.)

(m.) *Äg. Inschrr.* I, p. 124—(F. I.)

(f.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, l. 10, 17—(M.)

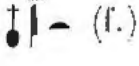
(f.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, 19—(M.)

 (f.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

(f.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

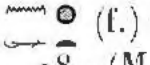
 (f.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

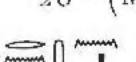
(f.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

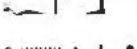
 (m.) *Mastabas*, p. 199—(O.)

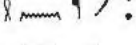
(f.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

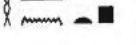
(f.) Cairo no. 20161, *c*, ll. 21, 26, 28—(M.)

 (f.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, 16—(M.)

 (m.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

 (m.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

 (m.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

 (f.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

(m.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

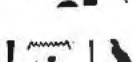
(f.) Cairo no. 20161, *c*, ll. 24, 25, 27—(M.)

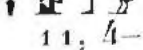
(f.) *Kahun*, pl. 11, 8—(M.)

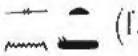
(f.) *Äg. Inschrr.* I, p. 183—(M.)

(f.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, 15—(M.)

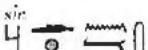
 (m.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

 (m.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, 24; 11, 4—(M.)

 (f.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, l. 14, 23—(M.)

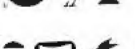
 (m.) *Äg. Inschrr.* I, p. 124—(F. I.)

(f.) *BM. Stelae* I, pl. 54—(M.)

 (m.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, 9—(M.)

(f.) *Kahun*, pl. 11, ll. 6, 7—(M.)

(f.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, 21—(M.)

 (f.) *Kahun*, pl. 10, ll. 19, 20—(M.)

 BM. Stelae I, pl. 54—(M.)

CHAPTER V

ENSLAVEMENT AND EMANCIPATION

A. ENSLAVEMENT

Enslavement may be due to :

I. Capture;
II. Birth;
III. Voluntary entry into servitude.

I. CAPTURE

It is convenient to deal with capture (and trade in captured people) as a whole in this chapter. If they had been treated under their separate legal and economic aspects repetition of facts would have been almost inevitable.

The earliest inscribed evidence of the frequently hostile relation of Egypt with her neighbours is perhaps on Narmer's palette. It is obviously no part of this discussion to give detailed references to all the passages in which captives are termed *skr-ʿnḫw* or referred to as *ḥ;ḫw*. Any attempt to do so would take us too far afield. It is, indeed, easy to find such references in *e. g.* the *Palermo Stone*, the *Annals of Thutmosis III*, at *Medinet Habu* and in the *Papyrus Harris*. References will be made to these sources throughout the discussion.

Captives become slaves

There was evidently a fundamental rule that the captured become in the first place human chattels of the king : 'I have brought those whom my sword spared as numerous captives, pinioned like birds before my horses, their

wives and their children by myriads, their cattle in number like hundreds of thousands. I settled their leaders in strongholds bearing my name. I added to them chief bowmen and great ones of tribes, *branded and made into slaves* (*ḫmw*), *stamped with my name—their wives and children being treated likewise*' [1]. In *Med. Habu*, pl. 75, 2-4, 'He (*i. e.* the god) put the chief of [Me]sh[wesh] into my hand together with his infantry and chariotry, his goods and his herds. They were captured and brought to Egypt ...Behold. Pharaoh, l. p. h., *has made them into booty* (*nḫtw*) *in his own writing*'.

However, from a close examination of the passages relevant to the position of these captives, various other conclusions may be drawn :

1. No distinction seems to have been made between those who had been slaves and those who had been freemen in their own countries. This is clear from :

(1) '[List of booty brought from this place] as an entire army : princes, 3 ; their wives, 30 ; men seized, 80 ; male and female slaves (*ḫmw ḫmwt*) and their children, 606' [2].

(2) 'I (*i. e.* the king) equipped it (the *pr* of the god) with captured male slaves (*ḫmw*) and men whom I had brought up' [3]. The text continues : 'I offered to him (*i. e.* the god) tribute of male and female slaves, silver, gold, royal linen...' [4]. This is to be compared with what Sethōs I states in speaking of the god's foundation : 'The ergastula (*šn'w*) therein contain food, the offerings multiply by millions, the slaves therein are of the children of the princes whom he (*i. e.* the king) captured in the land of Retenu, causing each individual to know his duties in all the rules of purity' [5].

(1) *P. Harris* I, LXXVII, 4-6. For stamping with the king's name cf. *Med. Habu*, pl. 28, 40 and the scene represented on pls. 42-43. This presents an analogy with slave-marks in late Babylonia. They had a mark on the ear, and one hand was tatooed with the owner's name or signs such as the pick and the stylus, the emblems of Marduk and Nebo (cf. B. MEISSNER, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, p. 382).

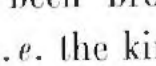
(2) *Urk.* IV, 698, 3-7. Surely this does not mean that all kinds had the same identical status (other than chattels of the King) in Egypt.

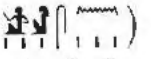
(3) These are probably freemen, cf. a parallel in *Harris* I, LX, 3-4.

(4) *Harris* I, LIX, 5-10.

(5) *Nauri Stela*, 17-18. I quote Griffith's translation.

On the other hand, in the *Annals of Thutmosis III*, it is clear that the children of the chiefs were kept in Egypt as *hostages* until the death of their fathers : 'Now the children of the chieftains and their brothers were brought to be hostages in Egypt. Now, whoever, died among these chiefs, his Majesty will cause his son to go to take (lit. stand upon) his place. List of the children of the chieftains brought in this year : 36 persons; 181 male and female slaves; 188 horses; 40 chariots wrought in gold and silver and painted' [1].

II. Some captives may not be part of the fighting force. In the superscription of the list of the southern countries, we read : 'All their inhabitants () have been brought away as captives to Thebes to fill the ergastulum of his (*i. e.* the king's) father, Amon-Rē^{c}, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. Now, all countries are the human-chattels ( ) of his Majesty' [2].

In the Aswān inscription of Thutmosis II, one reads : 'Then this army of his Majesty overthrew these foreigners; and, indeed, they did not allow to live any one of their males... except one of these children of the chieftain of the wretched Kush who was brought alive as a captive together with their household (?) () to the place where his Majesty was, being placed under the feet of the good god. Now, his Majesty appeared on the terrace ( ) when the captives, brought by this army of his Majesty, were introduced. This foreign land is made into chattels ( ) of his Majesty, just as its former state' [3].

III. The right of disposal of these captives was vested in the king : 'One besieged Sharūḥen for three years and his Majesty spoiled it. Then I brought spoils (*i. e.* captives) thence : 2 women and one hand. One gave me the gold of victory; behold, the captives were given to me to be slaves (*ḥmw*)' [4].

To this should be added the passages quoted above regarding branding captives and assigning them to religious institutions [5].

[1] *Urk.* IV, 690, 2-10.
[2] *Urk.* IV, 795, 11-14.
[3] *Urk.* IV, 140, 9-17.
[4] *Urk.* IV, 4, 14-5, 2 (repeated p. 113 below, n. 1).
[5] See also 'The nature of the *n-d(y)t*', pp. 38, 39 above.

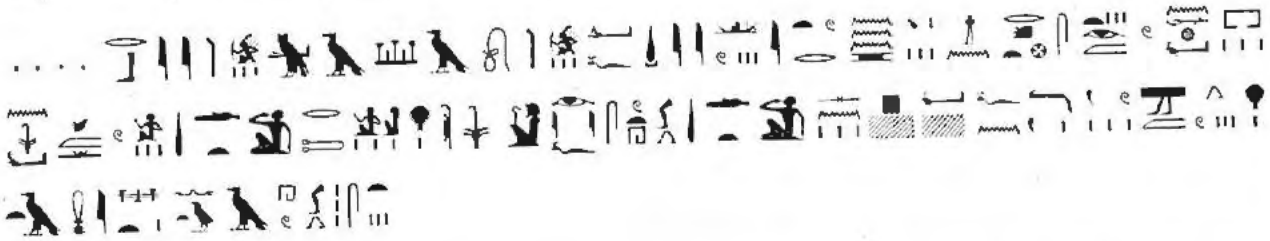
Treatment

Apart from sons of foreign chieftains, captives seem, as it has been mentioned above, to receive equal treatment, without distinction of rank, original status or sex. They are all alike made first into slaves by branding and registration. It is actually difficult to tell whether female captives would have received a different treatment, based on special capacities as women. The isolated example in *Med. Habu*, pl. 99, 14-15 shows perhaps that males and females belong to two different classes of slaves : 'It is thy strength-of-arm that carried them (*i. e.* the captives) off; the males thereof to fill thy *šn*ᶜ, their women to be human chattels (*nḏ(y)t*) belonging to (*nt*) thy temple'.

In general, both sexes, particularly those termed *mr(y)t* and *mr(t)*, work under an overseer (*ḥry*)—sometimes, female (*ḥryt*)[1].

Assimilation of captives

An inscription of Ramesses III indicates an attempt to Egyptianize the captives by teaching them the Egyptian language :



'The Rabyu and Meshwesh, he caused them to cross the river, they being brought to Egypt. They were placed (?)[2] in strongholds of the mighty king, that they might hear the talk of the people following the king. He suppressed (?) their language, he... their tongues, so that they walked upon the way and did not go back from it'[3].

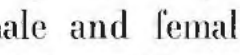
(1) See 'Various Writings and Titles', pp. 25, 28, 29 above.

(2) The text as given has .

(3) Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el-Médineh*, 35-36, ll. 2-6. The copy of the text in type seems to reproduce the original more accurately than Lepsius's plate.

Owners of captives

From the autobiography of Aḥmose it is clear that captives pass to the king first, 'Avaris was spoiled, and I brought spoil (*ḫ;ḳt*) thence : one man and 3 women, together 4 heads. And his Majesty gave them to me to be slaves. And one besieged Sharūḥen for three years, and his Majesty spoiled it, then I brought spoils thence : 2 women and one hand. One gave me the gold of victory; behold, the captives were given to me to be slaves' [1]. Later, Aḥmose gives a list of the names of captured slaves, males and females, given to him [2].

The king also granted captives to temples [3] : 'I filled his (*i. e.* the god's) temple with male and female slaves () whom I had brought from the land of *Sttyw*' [4]. It is said of Ḥaremḥab that 'he has filled their ergastula with male and female slaves, the tribute of his Majesty's captives (*ḫ;ḳt*)' [5]. In another place he says : 'His Majesty, l. p. h., has consecrated men and women slaves, songstresses and dancing girls who are servants in the king's house. Their wages are charged to the... palace' [6].

Number of captive-slaves

The number of captives naturally varies. An individual owned through a king's grant as many as 19 male and female slaves [7]; temples may have unlimited numbers *mi šᶜ n wḏb* 'like the sand of the shore' [8]; the *Annals of Thutmosis III* and *Med. Habu* inscriptions abound in references to their great number.

It is difficult, however, to draw conclusions from Middle Kingdom documents, since I know of no decisive evidence of captivity as source of slavery in this period.

[1] *Urk.* IV, 4, 10-15, 2 (repeated p. 111 above, n. 4); also 5, 11; 6, 7, 15.
[2] *Urk.* IV, 11, 4-14.
[3] See also, pp. 38, 39 above.
[4] *Harris* I, VIII, 9.
[5] *Cairo* 34183, 18.
[6] *Cairo* 34183, 21-22; for translation see *JEA* 25, 10.
[7] *Urk.* IV, 11, 4-14; compare also *ibid.*, p. 4, 12.
[8] *Harris* I, LXXVI, 8.

Disposal of captives

Captives granted to individuals would no doubt become part of their property, and so could naturally be the subjects of bequests, sale or hire—although no evidence on this matter is known to me.

Similarly, it is possible that there was a trade in captured people from foreign countries. It is a tenable hypothesis that people designated as of the *ʿ-mḥty* (in the Louvre documents), Syrians (*P. Bologna* 1086), *ʿ3m* (in *Kahun*, pl. 12) did not come to Egypt of their own will [1].

Employment

Captivity often entailed manual labour. Both male and female slaves were assigned to the ergastulum of a god. The work in this ergastulum seems to have included the manufacture of cloth, ploughing fields, tending cattle and growing corn for the god's revenue [2]. The representations in the *Tomb of Rekhmirē*ʿ, pl. 58 suggest that they also worked on making bricks or as builders [3].

According to a command to prepare for Pharaoh's arrival, possibly captive-slaves took up jobs other than rural. 'Take heed to have preparations made before Pharaoh... Slaves (*ḫmw*) of Kerek, youths (*mnḫw*) in classes, in the capacity suitable to be butlers of his Majesty... The man who is among them is to go to the kitchen to make beer of Ḳedi for the king's house, l. p. h., ...Slaves (*ḫmw*) of Canaʿan of Syria, goodly youths and goodly Nubians of Kush suitable to carry the fan...' [4]. From Bruyère's *Mert Seger*, p. 36, 6, however, it may be concluded that some of those who were in attendance on the king were definitely captives. The text reads [5]: 'When

[1] The study of slave-names may yield to important results. Certain names may have been exclusively established as slave-names. However, the author's investigation has been without result. It is clear that many foreign slaves received Egyptian names, so that many are on the whole a very doubtful guide to race; see 'Proper names', pp. 103-107 above.

[2] *Urk.* IV, 742, 10-743, 1; cf. also pp. 26 above.

[3] Cf. also Petrie, *Six Temples*, pp. 24-26.

[4] *LEM*, 51, 7-52, 16.

[5] It is the continuation of the passage quoted p. 112, n. 3 above.

they reached the district of the king, they were made into shield-bearers, followers and fan-bearers following the king'. Whether they were paid or not we do not know.

Doubtful Cases : In this connexion, are we justified in regarding foreigners : Meshwesh, Libyans, etc. who worked in the Necropolis [1] or in the army [2] as captives in origin, or simply mercenaries? We meet with women slaves (*ḥmwt*) working in the Necropolis (*p; ḥr*)—they may have been captives [3]. A Lybian rose to the position of butler in the Palace and figured among the criminals in the Harem Conspiracy against Ramesses III [4]. If captives could rise to positions of authority, it would not be surprising that one of them [5] gained power, and controlled Heracleopolis, south of the Fayyūm.

Captives' rights

It seems inconsistent with the idea of captivity that any anterior rights should be retained, or that the captive should be capable of acquiring new possessions, since he himself is possessed; but evidence on these points is lacking.

Family rights

Captivity seems, also, to put an end to family relationships—at least to the authority of parents over their children. The passage from *Harris I*, quoted pp. 109-110 above, shows that the children of the captives become also slaves—branded and registered. Scenes in the *Tomb of Rekhmirē'*, pl. 57, leave no doubt that the children are part of the tribute. It is not clear whether matrimonial relationship is recognised—the evidence for the existence of family relationships is, in any case, lacking, though they may be regarded as a status in suspense. On the other hand, there is a case of the

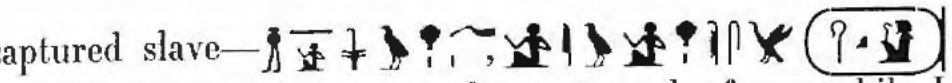
(1) *LRL*, 35, 2-8.

(2) *P. Anastasi* I, 17, 4.

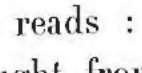
(3) See p. 102 above.

(4) *Anc. Rec.* IV, § 440; they may have been 'freed 'men. We know how great was the part played by 'liberti' at the Imperial Roman Court.

(5) *An. Rec.* IV, § 669; Shoshenk, chief of Me, who was originally Libyan.

captured slave—  'I have obtained him (as a reward) because of my strength-of-arm while I was following the ruler'—who married a free woman with the consent of his master [1]. This may be due to the fact that the slave is owned by an individual, and not by a state-institution.

Pygmies and dwarfs

The very fact that such people belong to other races, and the manner by which some are brought to Egypt, clearly justify their being regarded as captured people. In the letter of Khewefḥār it is clear that the pygmy is brought to Egypt against his will. The possibility of his escape and the appointment of guards lead to the conclusion that he is captured. The text reads : 'Bring this pygmy () with thee which thou hast brought from the land of the Akhtiu, living, prosperous and healthy... When he goes down with thee to the vessel, appoint trusty people who shall be about him on each side of the vessel, lest he fall into the water. When he sleeps at night, too, appoint trusty people who shall sleep about him in his tent. Inspect ten times a night. My Majesty desires to see this pygmy more than the produce of Sinai and Pwenet' [2].

There is nothing to show that the acquisition of this pygmy was a result of a bargain—a special expedition had been sent forth by the king's command. However, in Junker's *Giza*, III [3], some dwarfs are referred to as *iswww*, which as the discussion on pp. 14, 15 above shows, means the 'equivalents'. Since *iswww* with this meaning is usually associated with the verb and , it may be inferred that they were acquired through purchase.

It is possible that some of them came to Egypt to seek employment of their own free will. Although dwarfs sometimes held very low positions [4],

[1] *BIFAO* 38, 217 ff.; see also pp. 70 and 83 above.

[2] *Urk.* I, 129, 17-130, 15; cf. also Dawson's article in *JEA* 24, 185 ff.

[3] See p. 15 above, n. 1.

[4] They are represented in charge of pet-animals or jewellery, or as attendants to their masters; references are given by Dawson, see n. 2 above; notice especially p. 187, n. 2, nos. 1, 2, 4-10, 18, 21; cf. also Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 94-95.

their condition seems, on the whole, to have been better than that of slaves. An indication of the degree of respect in which they are held is evidenced by 'laugh not at a blind man, nor tease a dwarf' [1]. They were sometimes persons of considerable importance : examples are : Seneb, Khnemḥotpe and Djekḥo [2]. Seneb even had the honour of marrying an *iry(t)-iḫt nsw* [3].

II. BIRTH

In the Middle Kingdom :

Apparently in the Middle Kingdom, children of a slave are themselves slaves, and their status and titles are identical with those of their mothers. In *Kahun*, pls. 10, 11 and in Cairo 20161, the mothers are *ḏt*, and so also the children, both boys and girls. In the stela of Dedsobk [4] a male slave (*ḥm*) takes the title of his mother (*ḥmt*). Otherwise the evidence, such as *BM Stelae* I, pl. 54, is not conclusive.

From the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards :

Three causes may be distinguished during this period :

(*a*) children of two married slaves;
(*b*) children of a slave married to a free person;
(*c*) children of persons in voluntary servitude.

As to (*a*), there is no evidence relating to the marriage of two slaves—probably this relationship was not recognised as such in the true sense of the word. As a result of this, information as to the status of their offspring is entirely lacking.

As to (*b*), we have two documents [5] :

The first records the marriage of a *male slave* to a *free woman* with the consent of his master, but nothing is mentioned concerning the children [6].

[1] Amenemope, 24, 9.
[2] Dawson, *loc. cit.*, p. 187.
[3] Junker, *Vorbericht Giza* (1927), p. 109.
[4] *BIFAO* 30, 111.
[5] See also p. 83 above.
[6] See p. 83 above, n. 4.

The second document, namely the 'Adoption Papyrus', states that a *free man* is married to a *female slave* (houseborn) with her mistress's approval. Upon marriage the slave is emancipated, and the offspring, who apparently should follow the status of their mother, had to be declared as free people 'and if she bears either son or daughter, they shall be freemen of the land of Pharaoh in exactly the same way' [1]. In the same document, we are told that the purchased female slave, Dinibetiri, gave birth to three children —apparently through an unrecognised marriage. But it is clear that the children of such relationship were regarded as slaves.

As to (*c*), the documents show a person, man or woman, surrendering him—or herself into servitude [2]. In them, children born after the deed is drawn up become slaves. Even children already born before that become slaves;—a slave loses any authority over children born before and after the drawing up of the dead [3]—the only recognised authority would be that of the master.

Ms ḫ-nmḥ and *ms ḫn pr* :

The distinction between the phrases : *ms ḫ-nmḥ* 'born free' and *ms ḫn pr* 'born within the precincts' of the temple [4] is not clear. The *ms ḫ-nmḥ* in P. BM 10624 is said to have an anonymous father, 'I know not his name', but a known mother. This Egyptian term indicates, in any case, that there is a definite class of free children—probably following the status of their mothers. Whether they are born within or outside the precincts of the temple one cannot tell.

The other attribute, *ms ḫn pr*, seems to designate persons born under similar conditions [5]. On the other hand, the suppliant in *P. BM* 10622, whose parentage is known (titles are dropped), calls herself *bkt s-ḫmt* 'female slave', and she is not born within the precincts of the temple.

[1] It seems that there was a native law which regarded children of a union between a *freeman* and a *girl slave* as free and legitimate; this law was apparently abolished in the Ptolemaic Period, such children were accordingly slaves; cf. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, p. 14.

[2] Cf. pp. 74-76 above.

[3] Notice that future children are recognised as legitimate.

[4] See *JEA* 26, 73, n. on 1, 10.

[5] See *JEA* 26, p. 68 under category II.

Difference between contracts of self-sale and acts of dedication :

There is one definite point of difference between these. In the former class the vendor declares simply that he will not be free (*nmḥ*) in respect of his children, etc. In the latter the suppliant definitely declares that the children are to become the slaves (*bḳ*) of the institution (see both published papyri).

III. VOLUNTARY SERVITUDE

As is already explained on p. 74 above, 'voluntary servitude' was effected by two classes of deeds :

(*a*) Contracts of self-sale;
(*b*) Acts of self-dedication.

In four out of the five contracts of the former type, published by Griffith, the vendor, called Peftu'ukhons, mentions his parentage. In the fifth, namely Louvre E. 706, the female vendor omits her mother's name.

On the other hand, out of thirty self-dedications—discussed by Thompson—the suppliants of *only* seven are given as of known parentage on both sides, the fathers of the rest being said to be unknown.

We may, therefore, infer that it was mostly people born of an unrecognised union who surrendered themselves into servitude.

Purpose of voluntary servitude

In contracts of class (*a*), it may be assumed that the vendor surrenders himself into slavery 'in satisfaction of debts, or in order to obtain the means of existence or to enjoy comparative luxury. Such were common in Palestine and amongst the Babylonians' [1]. We meet with the passage 'thou hast caused my heart to agree to my money', yet there is no mention of the exact consideration. This seems to show that the vendor was discharging his

[1] Cf. *Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap.*, p. 59, also p. 51.

debts through self-sale, and that hence the formula is simply conventional (or fictitious) [1].

In four of these contracts the master is a priest, a 'Comforter of the Father's heart'; Louvre E. 706, however, gives merely his name. As was mentioned on p. 78 above, such contracts may be renewed from time to time, which indicates that the status of the vendor is not that of slavery proper.

(*b*) While the purpose in self-sale contracts is not clear, in acts of self-dedication it appears that the suppliants seek the protection of a religious institution against any kind of evil, human or spiritual [2]. Tanebtynis states : 'I shall not be able to be free in thy (the god's) precincts for ever and ever. Thou shalt protect me, thou shalt keep me safe, thou shalt guard me, thou shalt keep me sound, thou shalt protect me from every (male) spirit, every female spirit, every sleeping man, every epileptic (?), every drowned man, every *ḥmr*, every incubus (?), every dead man, every [man of] the river, every madman (?), every fiend, every red thing, every *wry*, every pestilence (?) whatsoever' [3].

The question arises : Is not the god's protection extended to all his *b;kw* 'slaves' without being the subject of a special agreement? As such suppliants paid a regular rent, they may have been entitled to ask for protection which was not otherwise granted.

Suppliants not necessarily slaves

The position of such suppliants, who are known only in Ptolemaic demotic documents, may be analogous to the status of the κάτοχοι of the Serapeum,

[1] The creditor may reduce the debtor to the status of a '*nexus* who, though free, has to give his services into slavery instead of money which he owes, until he pays it' (see F. de Zulueta, *The Recent Controversy about Nexum*, p. 3). This compulsory bondage may develop into a form of self-guarantee, and so of conditional self-sale by the debtor, who becomes conditionally the property of the creditor. The exclusive authority of the master seems to be the essential part of such contracts; cf. also *Bürgschaftsurkunden*, pp. 565, 567, 569.

[2] It is not clear whether the protection will also be against government authorities; cf. also C. Préaux, *L'Economie Royale des Lagides*, pp. 484-485.

[3] *P. BM.* 10622, 9-14; I quote Thompson's translation.

dating from the same period [1]. The latter submitted themselves to a voluntary religious bondage with a view to securing the protection of the temple [2]. The people thus concerned seem to have retained their own land.

More light is thrown on the relation between the κάτοχοι and the temple by a comparison with the constitutions of Theodosian and Justinian, by which the church at Alexandria 'gave patronage on at least two grounds : First, as being the only body which could make any serious stand against the State, so that the church was the natural protector of the weak... Secondly, the church enjoyed many privileges, and it was largely by illicit extension of privileges that patronage throve' [3]. Professor de Zulueta recalls the fact that such patronage is sought for by some land-owners who may be said 'sub patrocinio possidere', for they are the *de facto* possessors [4]. He also thinks that 'a client [5] might hope to retain the beneficial possession by agreement with the patron, but he was short-sighted if he believed that the patron would always be content with a reasonable rent for his services' [6].

If this comparison is justifiable, then it may be concluded that the suppliant's rights (in self-dedication) of ownership were defined to the extent that he had to perform certain duties or, instead, to pay a certain rent for the protection of the temple, and by the fact that he was required to live within the temple precincts. It would also seem that the temple's authority does not extend beyond that of guardianship, and is not, in any case, absolute [7].

The price of this protection is in one document 1 1/4, in the other 2 1/2 *kîtes*, as 'rent of service' per month.

(1) Cf. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, I, pp. 53, 76.

(2) They cannot leave the temple even if they want to do so; cf. von Woess, *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit*, p. 147. 'If this kind of contract was made in a period when Egypt flourished', says Petrie in *Social Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 24, 'it seems likely that it was common in periods of distress'.

(3) F. de Zulueta, *De Patrociniis Vicorum* (Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History), p. 12.

(4) De Zulueta, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

(5) This corresponds to 'suppliant' in our 'self-dedications'.

(6) See n. 4 above.

(7) We should not forget the psychological background. Suppliants had usually an anonymous father, a fact which accounts for a certain feeling of inferiority and disgrace that led to taking refuge in a temple : let alone the fact that the position of a slave in the temple was sought for by people from superstitious motives or because of the honour that such a position in the temple conferred on them.

To sum up

Particularly in the New Kingdom, the main source of slaves was capture in war. Captives, without distinction of their original social status, were all branded and made into slaves stamped with the king's name, women and children being treated likewise. Sons of chiefs were, however, kept as hostages until the death of their fathers, whom they then replaced. Captives were either assigned to the different departments of the ergastulum, or simply formed part of the human chattels of the king and the temples. Some were granted to warriors as a reward for valour. There was also an attempt to teach them the Egyptian language.

However, captives appear to have been sometimes shield-bearers, followers and fan-bearers of the king—whether they were paid or not we do not know.

Birth was another source of slaves. It may be inferred that, during the Middle Kingdom, children of a *ḏt* born in the house of the master were slaves. Those who are born of a slave and a free person married with the consent of the master were regarded as free. However, children of enslaved persons (in voluntary servitude) automatically assumed the same status of their parents.

Trade was a third source of slaves, especially (as far as our material goes) that which brought in slaves from Syria and the northern countries. It is not clear whether dwarfs and Asiatics were brought through the channels of trade.

B. EMANCIPATION

If the emancipation of a slave implies simply *release* by the slave himself from ownership by his master, the state of a fugitive could also be regarded as one of emancipation [1]. In *P. BM* 10107 a slave apparently left one master to take shelter with another. The document shows that the slave was subject to reclamation. Actually, the slave changed only the owner. As a fugitive, he seems to have remained legally a slave of his original master

[1] In the country of Kunama (Abyssinia) and also among the Barea and the Bazen, the native-born slave regains his complete freedom by leaving his master and going to another place (R. Thurnwald, *Economics in Primitive Communities*, p. 241).

who, naturally, had the right to reclaim him. Taking shelter elsewhere did not alter his legal status. Thus, such a fugitive-slave cannot be regarded as really emancipated [1].

However, emancipation, which means *change of status* of one who is owned to that of a free person, is known only in the 'Adoption Papyrus' of the XXth Dynasty. The relevant passage reads : 'As Amūn endures, and the ruler endures, I (the mistress) (hereby) make the people whom I have put on record freemen of the land of Pharaoh, and if any son, daughter, brother or sister of their mother or their father [2] should contest their rights (lit. speak against them), except Padiu [3], this son of mine—for they are indeed no longer with him as servants, but are with him as brothers and children, being freemen of the land of Pharaoh—may a donkey etc.' [4].

It is clear that this act of emancipation is :

(*a*) an *official* act on the part of the owner by which the slaves are released ; and (*b*) valid after adoption and with the attestation of 'numerous witnesses' (*vs.* 11-12), as well as an oath.

As to those who surrender themselves into slavery, by sale or dedication, it is clear that the right to emancipate them is vested in the masters, who are not expected to take this step in view of the permanent nature of the deeds [5].

As is made clear on pp. 50-52 above, no word for 'to emancipate' is known. So far, evidence relating to the emancipation of captives, purchase of freedom by slaves and their emancipation by a will is lacking [6].

To sum up

There is only one clear case of emancipation, namely in the 'Adoption Papyrus'. It is an official act by the master after adoption. No case of a slave purchasing his freedom or masters releasing their slaves by ransom, etc. is known.

[1] See also the treaty of alliance discussed on p. 89 above.

[2] Since these slaves are adopted, the master and the mistress are called father and mother.

[3] Since he is the executor.

[4] *Vs.* 1-6 ; I quote Gardiner's translation.

[5] Sometimes it is *s}w dt*.

[6] Apart, of course, from the 'Adoption Papyrus'.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is clear that what may fairly be called slavery existed in Pharaonic Egypt. Although the evidence over so long a period is scanty, we seem able to reconstruct from it an institution which was suited to a simple society and a somewhat primitive legal mind—one which we cannot expect to exhibit the complicated features dealt with by Roman Law. Indeed, judged by the definition of that law, all that can be said, from the evidence before us, is that slavery, strictly speaking, existed between the XVIIIth and XXIInd Dynasties inclusive, while before and after that period only various degrees of 'bondage' can be demonstrated.

SUBJECT-INDEX [1]

Acquisition : modes of —— 23, 70-71 ; restricted —— 67 ; right over —— 66 ; —— by slaves 84-87 ; —— of slaves 66 ; —— in voluntary servitude 75, 120-121.

Adoption : character of —— 83.

Anonymous father 77, 118.

Assertions : categories and formulae of —— 62 ff.

Assimilation of captives 112.

Bequest to slaves 84.

Birth as cause of slavery, in the Middle Kingdom 117, from the XVIIIth Dyn. onwards 117-119.

Bondage : agricultural —— 2-4.

Branding slaves (captives) 110.

Captives and Captivity : 81, 109 ff. ; disposal of —— 114 ; employment of —— 114-115 ; assimilation of —— 112 ; number of —— 113 ; owners of —— 113 ; rights of —— 115-116 ; treatment of —— 112 ; —— as booty (by the king's writing) 110 ; —— as hostages 111 ; —— as source of slavery 109 ff. See also Branding.

Children : —— of captives 110 ff. ; —— of domestic slaves 117 ; —— of emancipated slaves 83-84 ; —— of slaves 77, 117-119 ; —— of slave married to free person 83-84, 118 ; —— of people in voluntary servitude 74-75, 82, 118 ; — as tribute 115.

Citizenship of slaves 87-88, 98.

Claims : defending —— 78 ff. ; —— to fugitive 79.

Client 121 n. 5 ; see also Suppliants.

Cohabitation 77, 82.

Compensation 71-72, 73 ; see also Penalty.

Compulsory labour : See Corvée.

Concubinage 98.

Consent : —— to slave's marriage 82-84 ; —— to slave's acquisition of property 84-87.

Contracts : categories of —— 71, 72, 74 ; duration (in voluntary servitude) of —— 123, n. 5 (see also duration) ; failure to fulfil —— 77-78 ; joint —— 113 ; vendors and slaves in —— 73 ; (Term.) 13.

Contracting parties : formula 58.

Co-ownership 73, n. 3 ; co-heir (?) 145.

Conveyance : (Term.) 13.

Corvée 4.

Council : —— of judges 74 ; —— of officials 78, 79.

Crown people 29.

Crown slaves 30.

Date : part omission of —— 58 ; —— in transfers 57-58.

Debt as cause of enslavement 119-120.

Decress : list of —— 54 ; violation of —— 67, 80 ; —— as regulating rights 3-4, 64, 80.

Dedication : purpose of —— 120-121 ; self —— 76-77 ; suppliants in —— 120-121.

Deeds of voluntary servitude : see Voluntary Servitude ; failure to fulfil —— 77-78.

Defect of slave 62, 73.

[1] '(Term.)' refers to a discussion in chapter II 'Terminology'.

Delict of slave 79-80, theft 79-80; flight, see Fugitive; —— by master 80.

Disposal : deeds of —— 54-56; —— of captives 114; —— of property by slave 84 ff.

Disputes : arising from purchase 73-74; —— on claim 78.

Doubtful cases 115.

Duration of contracts 77; see also Contracts.

Dwarfs : see Pygmies.

Earnings of slave 75 ff.

Economic aspect of slavery 97 ff.

Edict : see Decrees.

Emancipation : character of —— 84, 122-123; motive for —— 83, 87; payment to secure —— 123; —— by buyer 123; —— by will 123; (Term.) 48 ff.

Employment : (Term.) 41-45; see also Slaves and Captives.

Enslavement : causes of —— 109-122; —— of girls 15, 65.

Equivalents : (Term.) 14-15, 116.

Ergastulum : (Term.) 42 ff.

Eviction : formulae against —— 62.

Evidence by slave for or against master 88.

Exodus and slavery 88.

Extradition of fugitive 89.

Family relationships of captive 115-116; — of slave 65; in voluntary servitude 74 ff., 82.

Family settlements : list of —— 55-56.

Female slaves 30, 65-66, 98, 102; see also Slaves.

Flight of slaves : see Fugitive and Delict.

Foreign slaves 65, 72.

Formulae : assertion —— 62-63; hire or sale —— 60-62; oath —— 63-64; voluntary servitude —— 62-63.

Freedman 115, n. 4; freeman : land of —— 5; freeborn 77, 118; born within precincts 77, 118; freewoman, see Emancipation.

Fugitive : claim to —— 79; dispute for —— 78-79; extradition of —— 89; position of —— 80, 122-123.

Gift (or dowry) to slave 84.

Guardianship of women 50.

Hire and purchase or sale (list) 56; —— and rent of service (Term.) 14.

Heirs : obligation of —— 78.

Hostages 111.

House-born slave : marriage of —— 118.

Human-chattels : meaning of —— 36-40; nature of —— 38, 39; punishment to be —— 39, 97.

Humanity to slaves 68-69, 87-88; see also Slaves.

Israelites : treatment of —— 88.

Joint contracts 73.

Labour : cost of —— 102; field —— 3; slave —— 101; see also Captives.

Labourer : field —— 3.

Land : classification of —— 4-5.

Legacy to slave (emancipated) 84.

Legal aspects of slavery 53-89.

Maintenance of slaves : see Rations.

Male slaves : status of —— 65, 112.

Marriage : effect of slavery on —— 82 ff., 117 ff.; —— with free person 83-84; —— settlements (Term.) 13, formula 64.

Matrimonial relationships 65, 82 ff.

Mothers 118-119.

Names 97, n. 7, 114, n. 1; list of —— 103-107.

Nationality of slaves 72.

Number of slaves owned by individual 100; (captives) 113.

Oath : omission of —— 59; —— formulae 63-64; —— as guarantee by vendor 76.

Offspring : see Children.

Organisation : —— of captive-slaves 112; —— of slaves 102.

Owners and Ownership of captives 113; —— of fugitive, see Fugitive; —— of slaves 69-70, 99-100.

Parents of slaves 72, 117 ff.

Peculium 85, n. 2.

Penalty : by vendor —— 109-110; —— for thefts by slave 124; —— —— for questioning legitimate ownership 118.

Possession of slaves 117 ff.

Prescription 110, n° 1.

Price : receipt of —— 88, 91-92; —— of service 156; —— of slaves —— 154; —— omitted 59.

Priority to masters 87.

Property : definition of —— 11; see also Slave as proprietor.

Punishment : for delicts, see also Delicts and Penalty; —— for violation of decrees 67, 80; —— to be human-chattels 97, n° 2.

Purchase : —— of freedom 123; —— and sale (Term.) 12.

Pygmies and dwarfs 116.

Ration as wage for labour 102.

Registration 67; council for —— 67.

Rights : people —— 4, 64; slave —— 66-67; —— to slave service 67-68.

Sale : purchase and —— (Term.) 12; —— contracts 71 ff.; —— of slaves 70.

Self-dedication : purpose of —— 119 ff.

Self-sale 74 ff.; purpose of —— 119-120.

Serfdom : slavery and —— 6-8.

Servant : —— of a person or a god 17 ff.; —— and slave 19 ff.

Service : document of —— (Term.) 13; rent of —— (Term.) 12; right to slave —— 67-68.

Servile *cognatio* 82-84; see also Marriage.

Servitude : praedial —— 2-3; voluntary —— 56-57, 119-121; slavery and —— 8-9.

Slave : crown —— 30; domestic —— 26, 65; employment of —— 14 ff., 41-45, 101, 114-115; foreign —— 72; harbourer of —— (fugitive) 80; home-born —— 72, 117-118; ushabtis as —— 32-33; language of —— (captives) 112; parents of —— 117 ff.; —— as accuser 88; —— as citizen 87 ff., 97 ff.; —— as man 82 ff.; —— as proprietor 84 ff.; —— as *res* (or chattel) 7, 69 ff.; —— as tribute 115; —— as witness 88 ff.; —— right over property 84 ff.; —— right on family 74 ff., 82 ff., 117 ff.; —— (Term.) 14-40.

Slavery : background of —— 1-9; definition of —— 6-8; legal aspects of —— 53-89; (Term.) —— 11-52; —— and serfdom 6-8; —— and servitude 8-9.

Social position of slaves 97-99.

Space-relation : results of —— 6; —— as background 5-6.

Status in suspense 115.

Suppliants 76 ff., 120 ff.

Syrian slaves 72.

Temple prostitution 83.

Temple slaves 51 ; humanity towards —— 87-88 ; king's protection of —— 80.

Testamenta : list of —— 54.

Theft : see Delict.

Torture of slaves 80.

Transaction of captives 114 ; —— of slave service, see Hire.

Transfer : form of —— 57 ff. ; formulae of —— 60 ff. ; verbal nature of —— 57 ; —— of slaves and services, kinds 54 ff. ; —— (Term.) 13.

Treatment of captives 112 ff. ; —— of slaves 68, 97, 99 ; see also Humanity.

Unilateral acts 76 ff.

Ushabtis : see Slave.

Value 78.

Vendor, declaration of —— 58 ff., 91, 93.

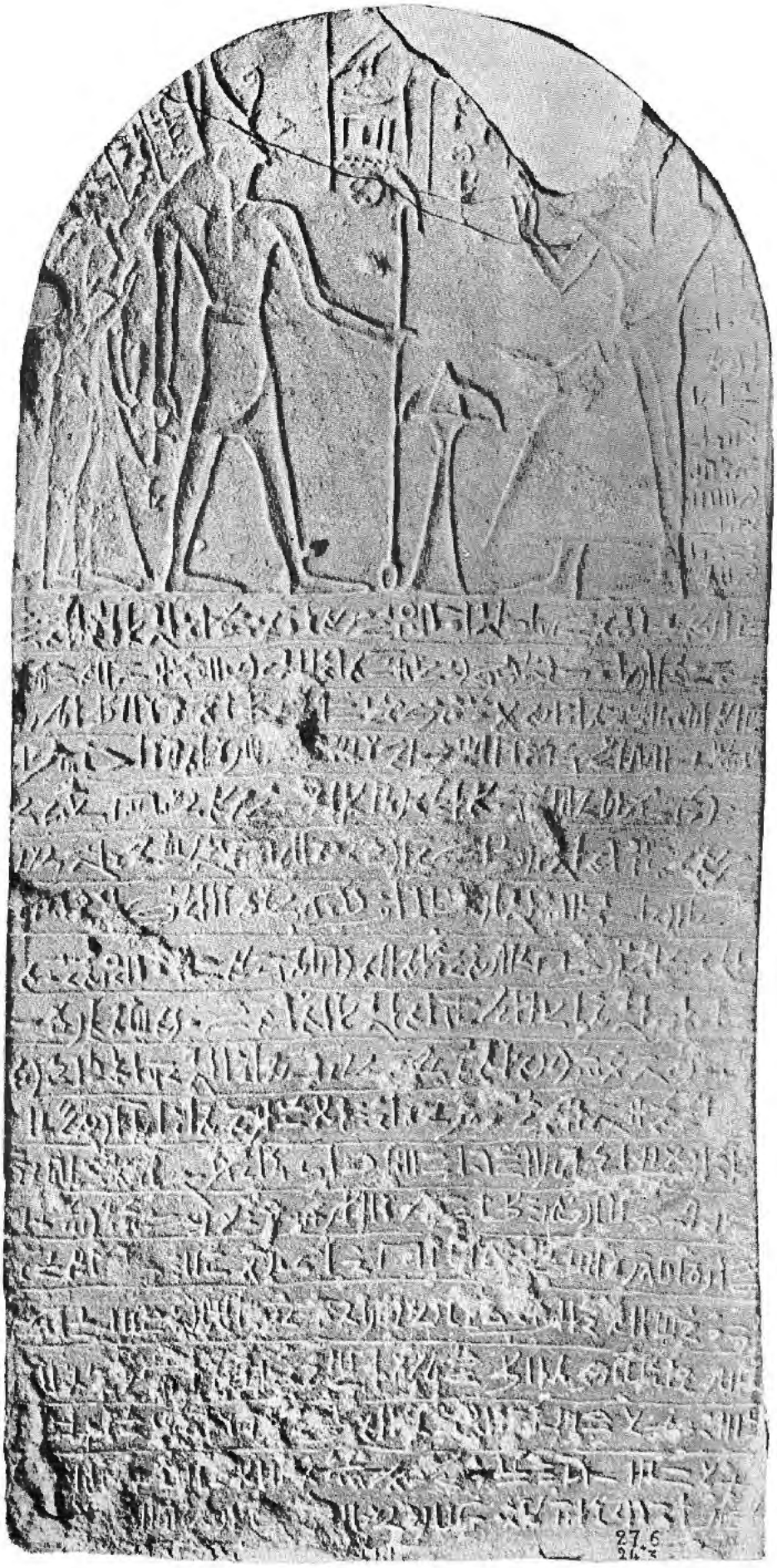
Voluntary servitude : institution of —— 74 ff., 97 ; deeds of —— 56 ff.

Warranty : formula against defects 63, 73 ; formulae against eviction 62, 93.

Witness : declaration of —— 59-60 ; terms introducing mention of —— 59-60 ; scribe as —— 59 ; slave as ——, see Slave.

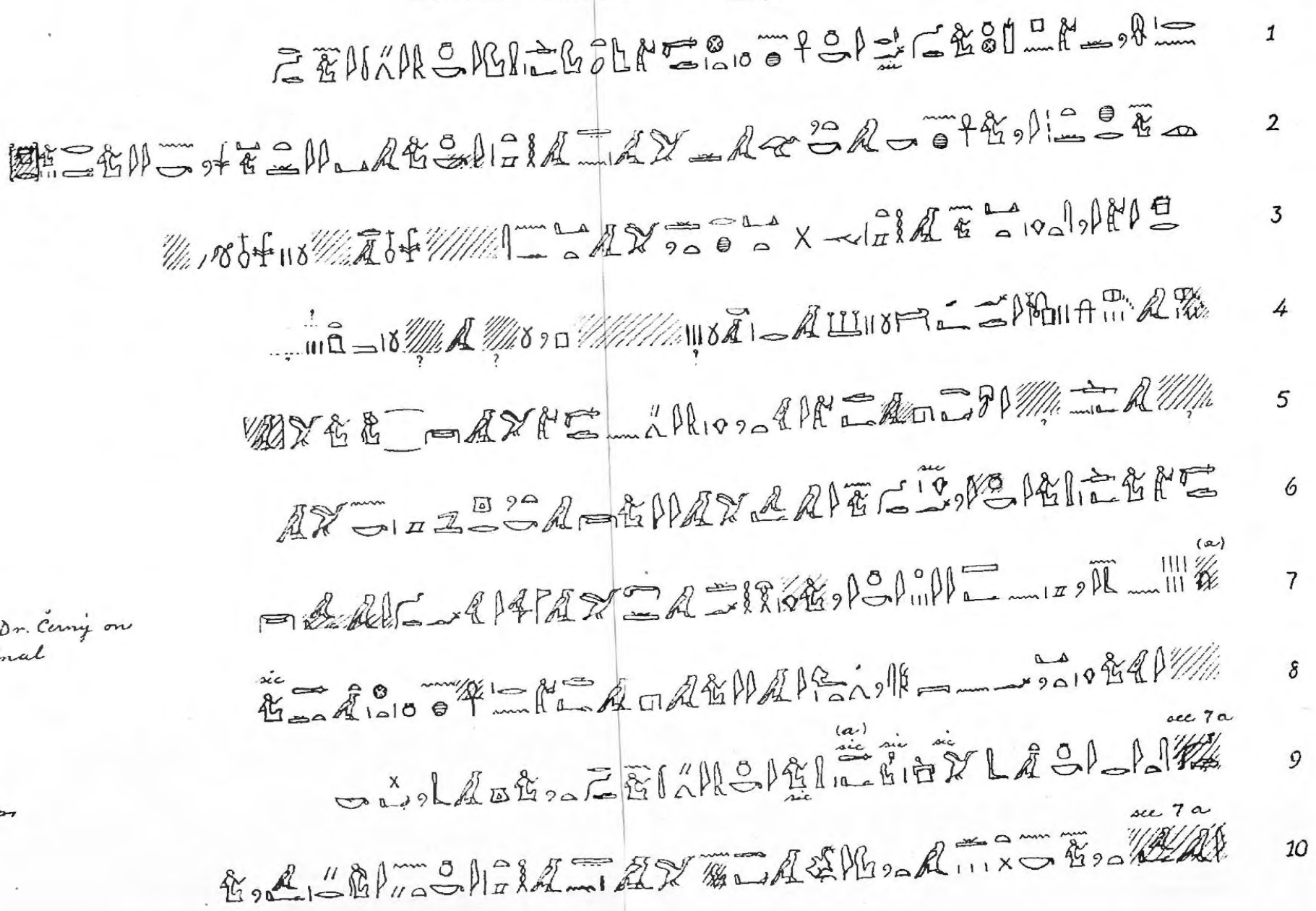
Wives in deeds of voluntary servitude 75, 83.

Cairo Stela 56994 (*Hieroglyphic*)



Cairo Stela $\frac{27}{21}\left|\frac{6}{3}\right.$ (*Abnormal Hieratic*)

Cairo Stela no. 27/24 6/3 – transcribed from a photograph.



(a) seen by Dr. Černý on the original

(a) for

see 7a

11

12

13

cf. l. 15

14

cf. l. 14

15

16

17

18

sic

19

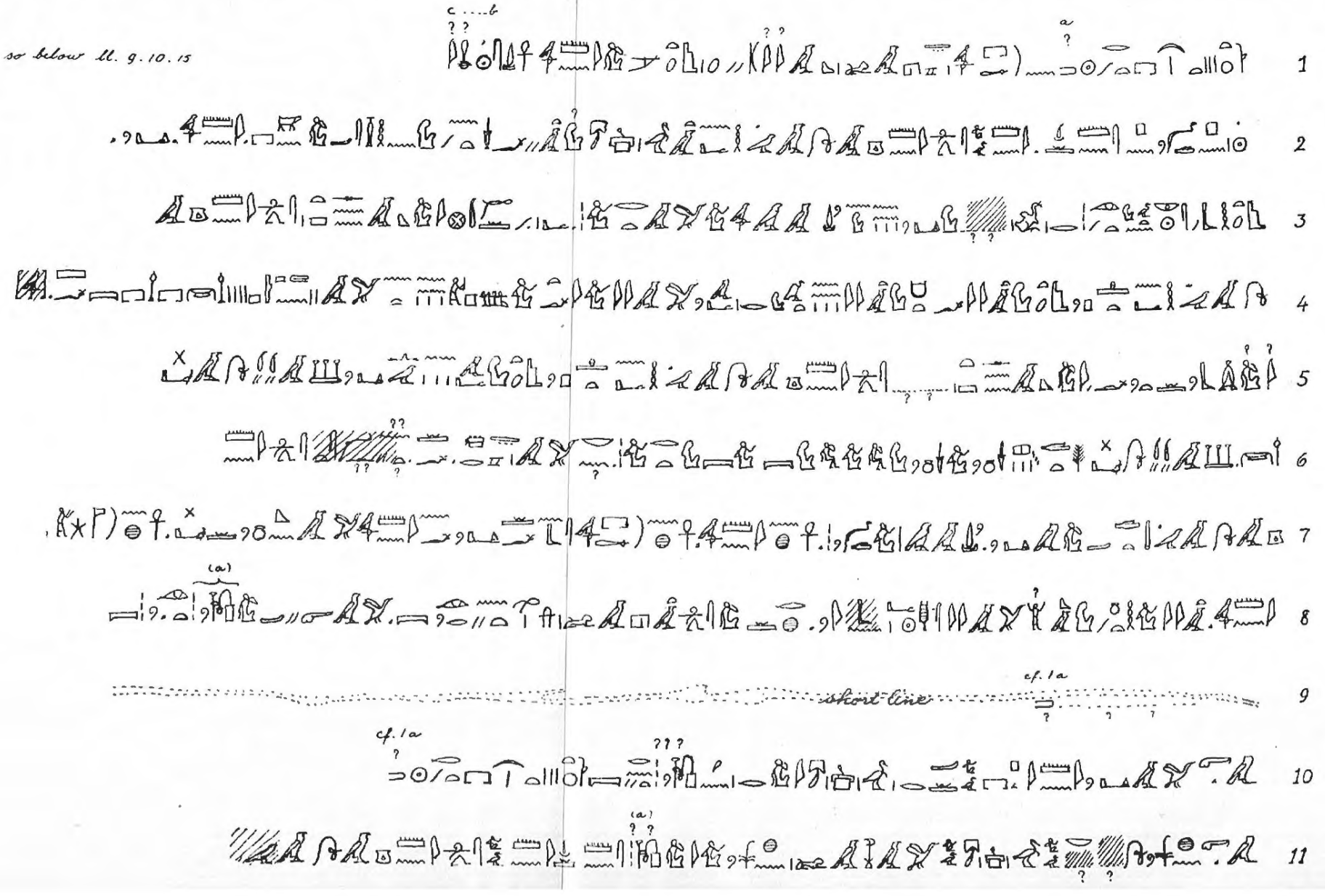
blank

20

P. Louvre 3228 A (*Abnormal Hieratic*)

Papyrus Louvre 3228 A (No. 1 of Griffith's list, Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap., p. 15) — transcribed from a photostat marked 3228 D.

1 a, or ⊐⊐ ! and so below ll. 9. 10. 15
1, b–c very doubtful



12

13

14

15

short line

16

17

18

19

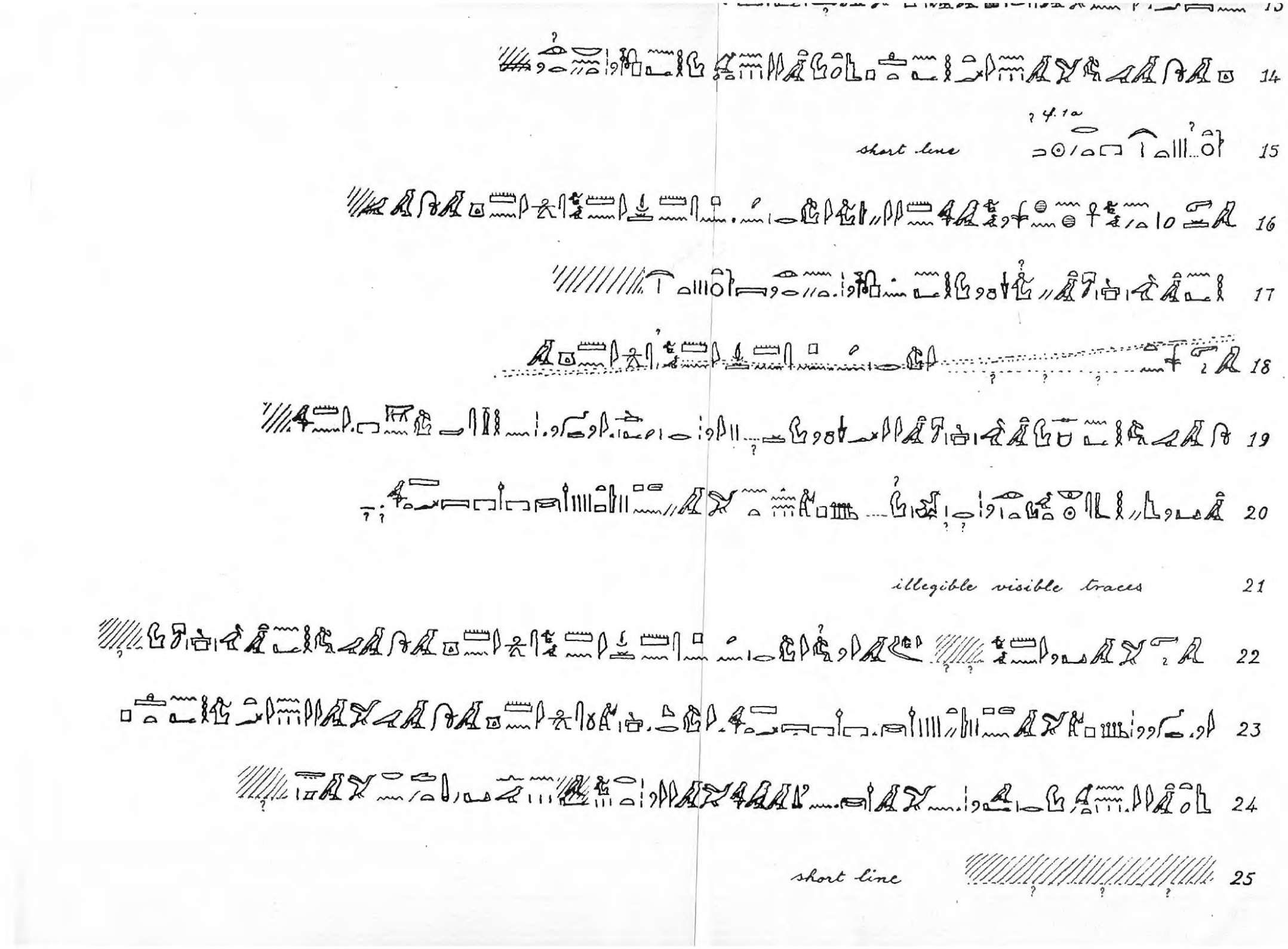
20

21

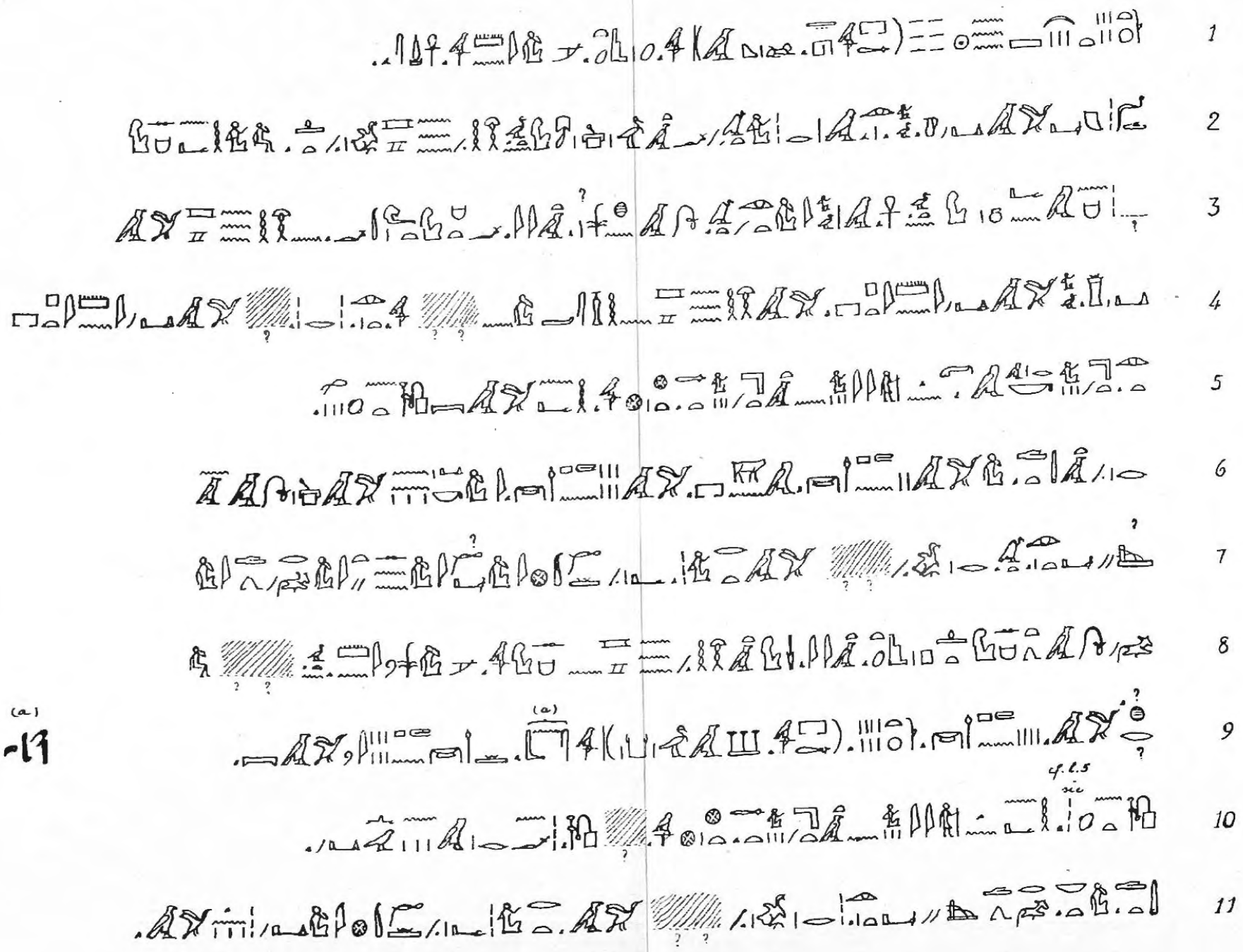
illegible visible traces

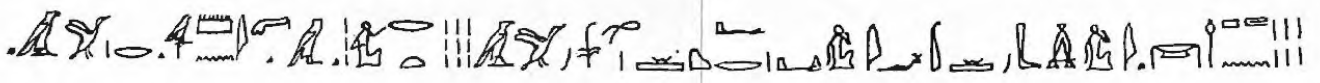
22

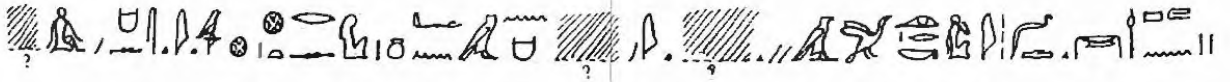
23


14
15
short line
16
17
18
19
20
illegible visible traces
21
22
23
24
short line
25

Papyrus Louvre 3228 C (No. 3 of Griffith's list, Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap., p. 15)



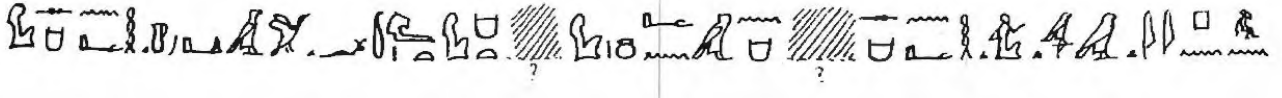

12


13

14

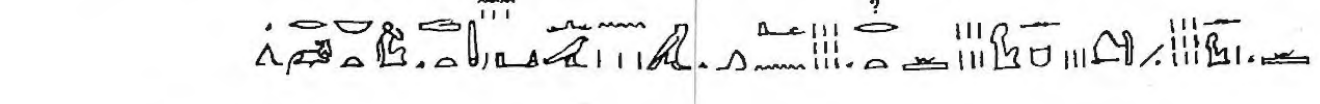
15

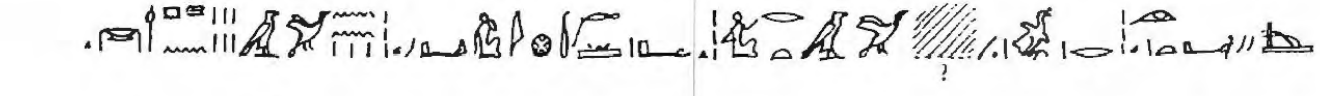
16

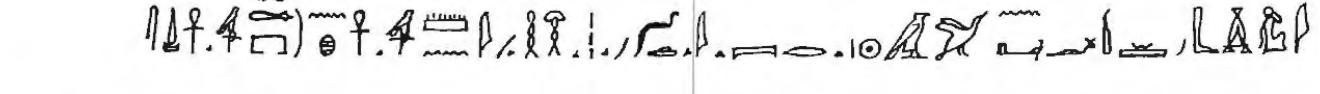

17

18

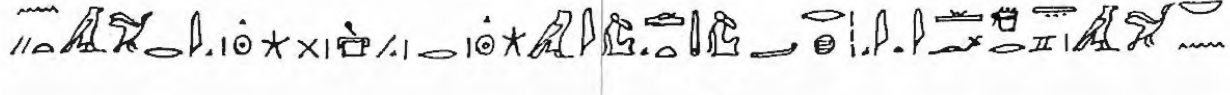
sic. above the line


19

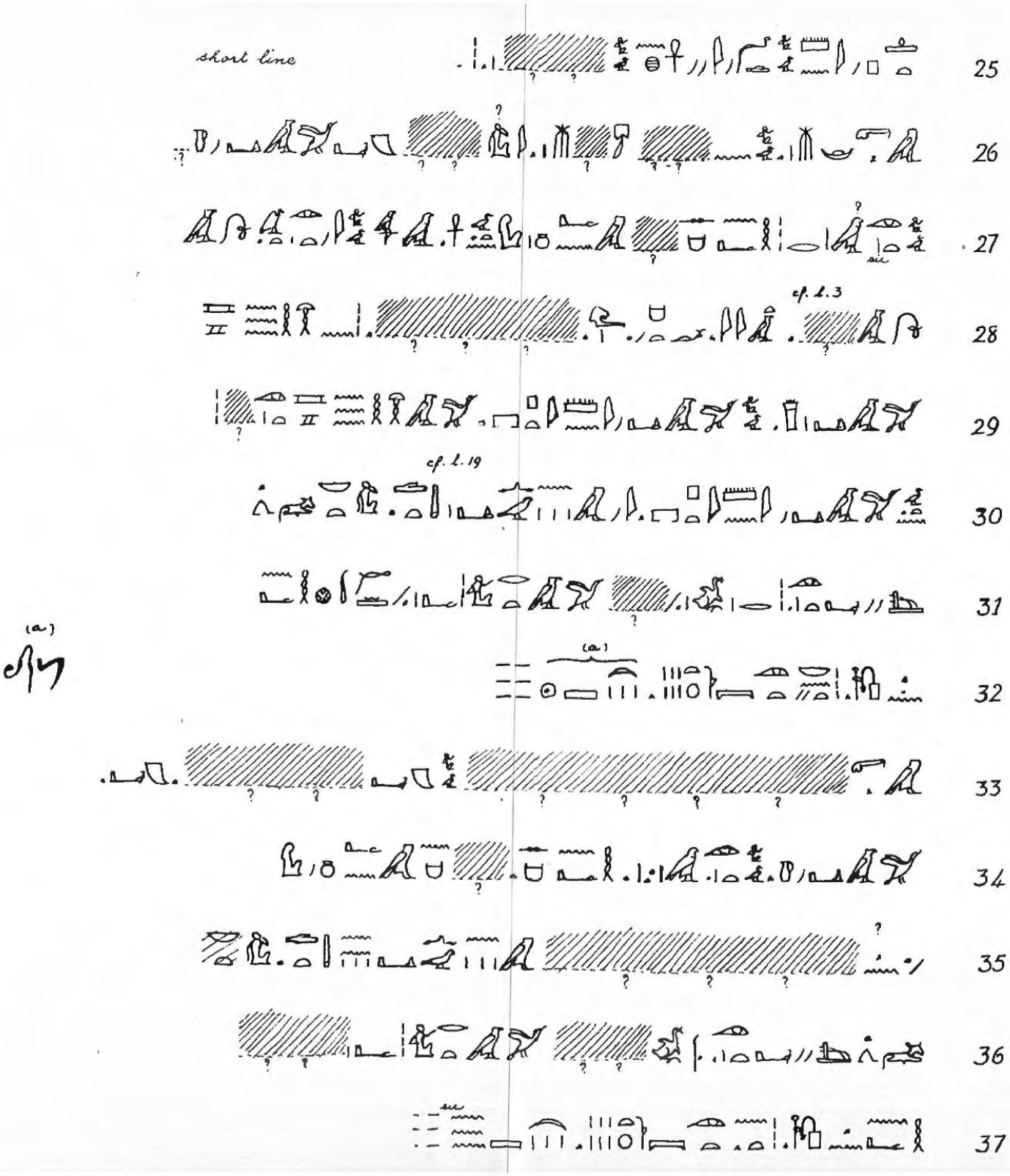

20


21

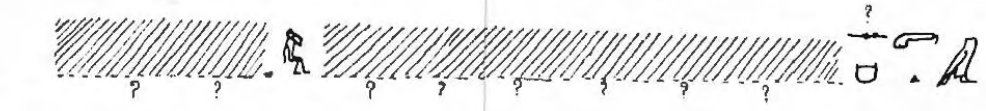
22


23

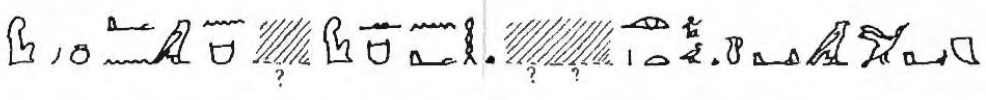
24


short line
cf. l. 3
cf. l. 19
(a)
(a)
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37

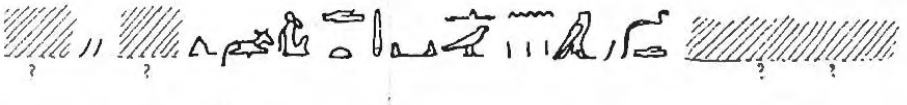
38



39

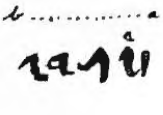


40

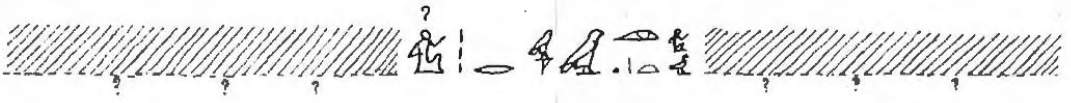


41

42

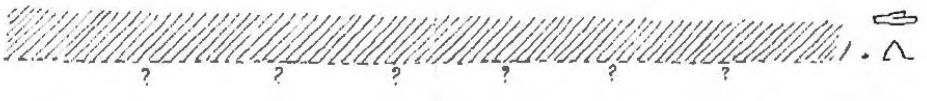


43

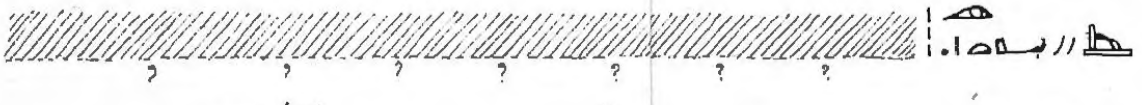


44

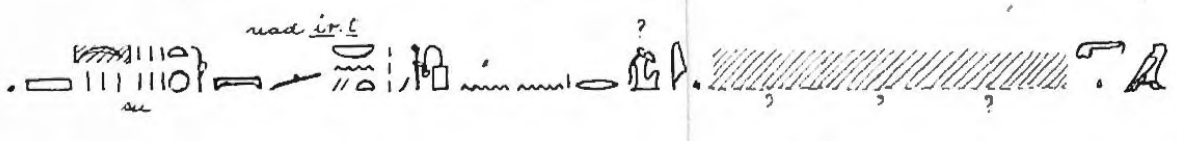
45



46

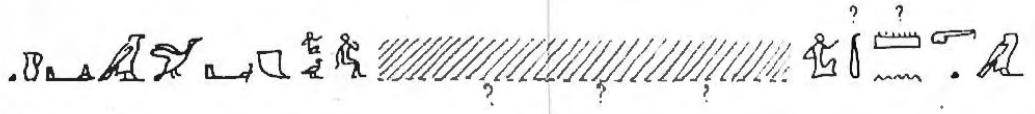


47

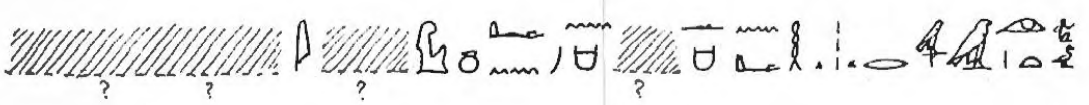


48

49



50

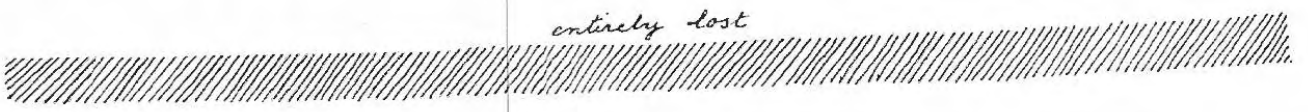


51

P. Louvre 3228 E (*Abnormal Hieratic*)

Papyrus Louvre 3228 E (unpublished) – transcribed from a photostat.

entirely lost



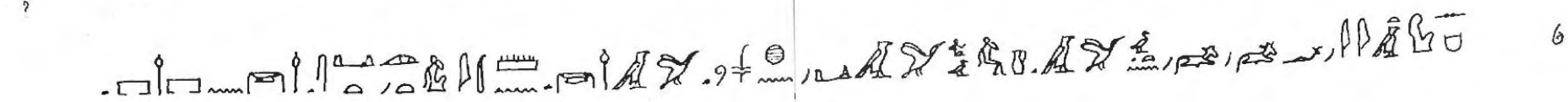
1

2

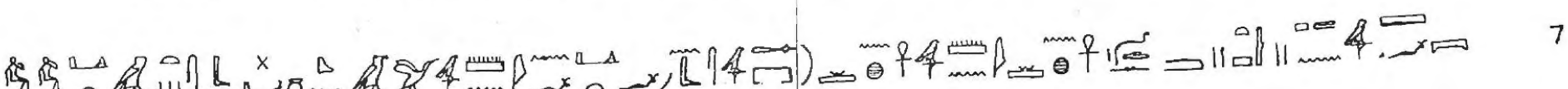
3

4

5



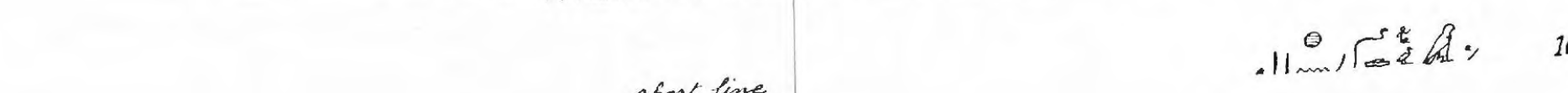
6



7

8

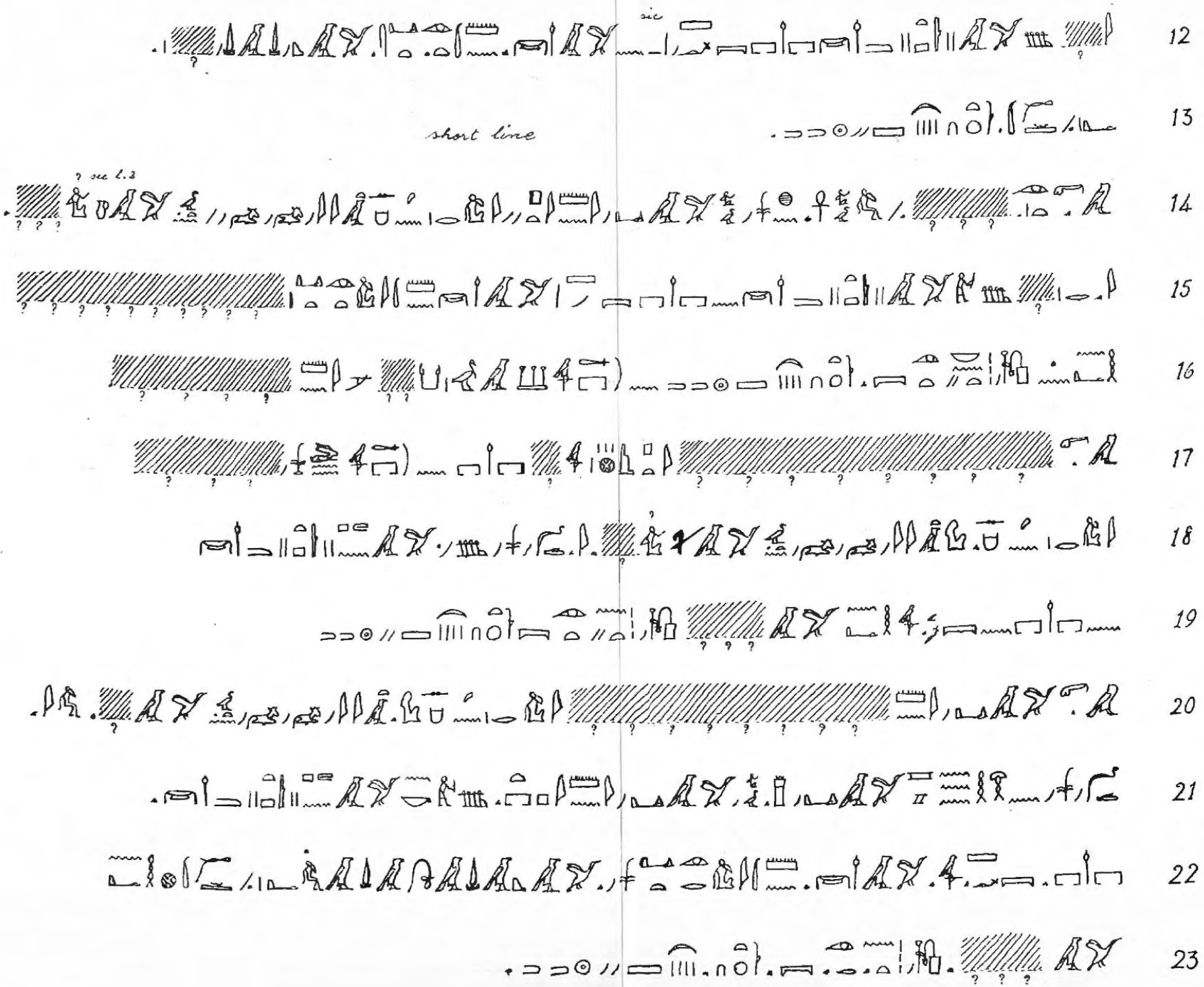
9



10

short line

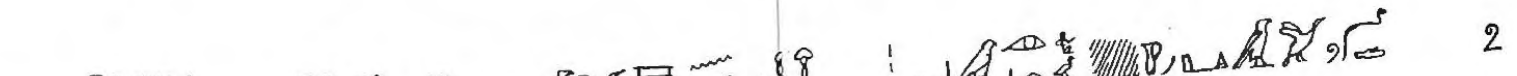
11


sic
short line
? see l. 2

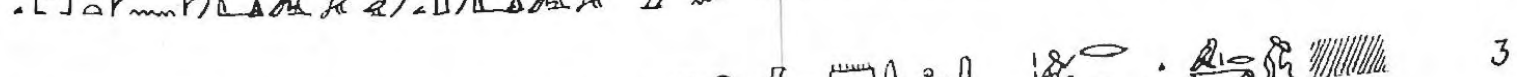
Papyrus Louvre 3226 F (No. 2 of Griffith's list, Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap., p. 15)

1

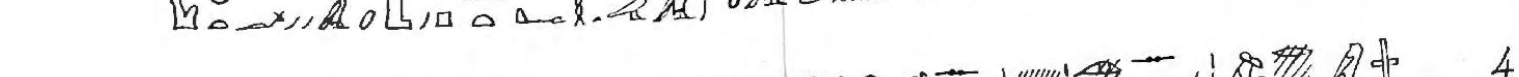
2



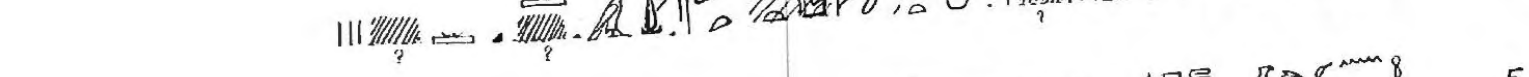
3



4



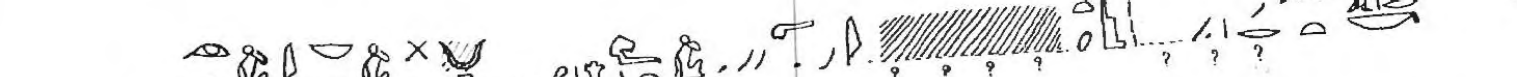
5



6

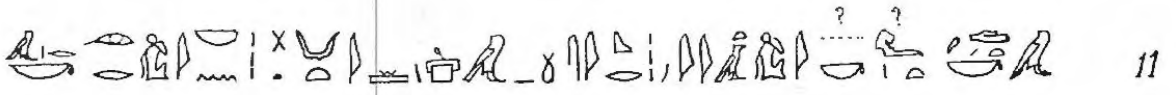
7

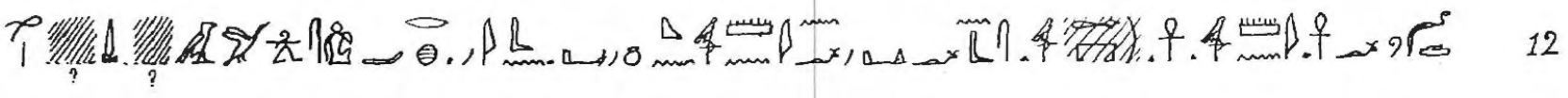
8



9

10

11 

12 

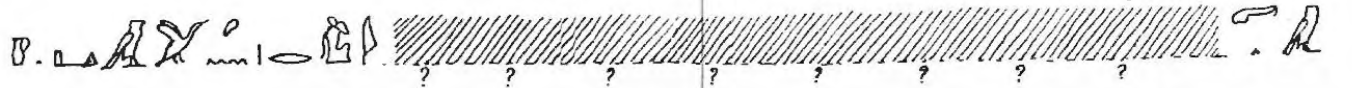
13 short line

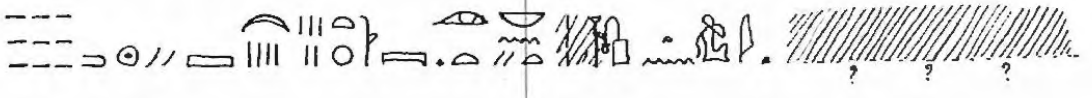
14

15

16 short line

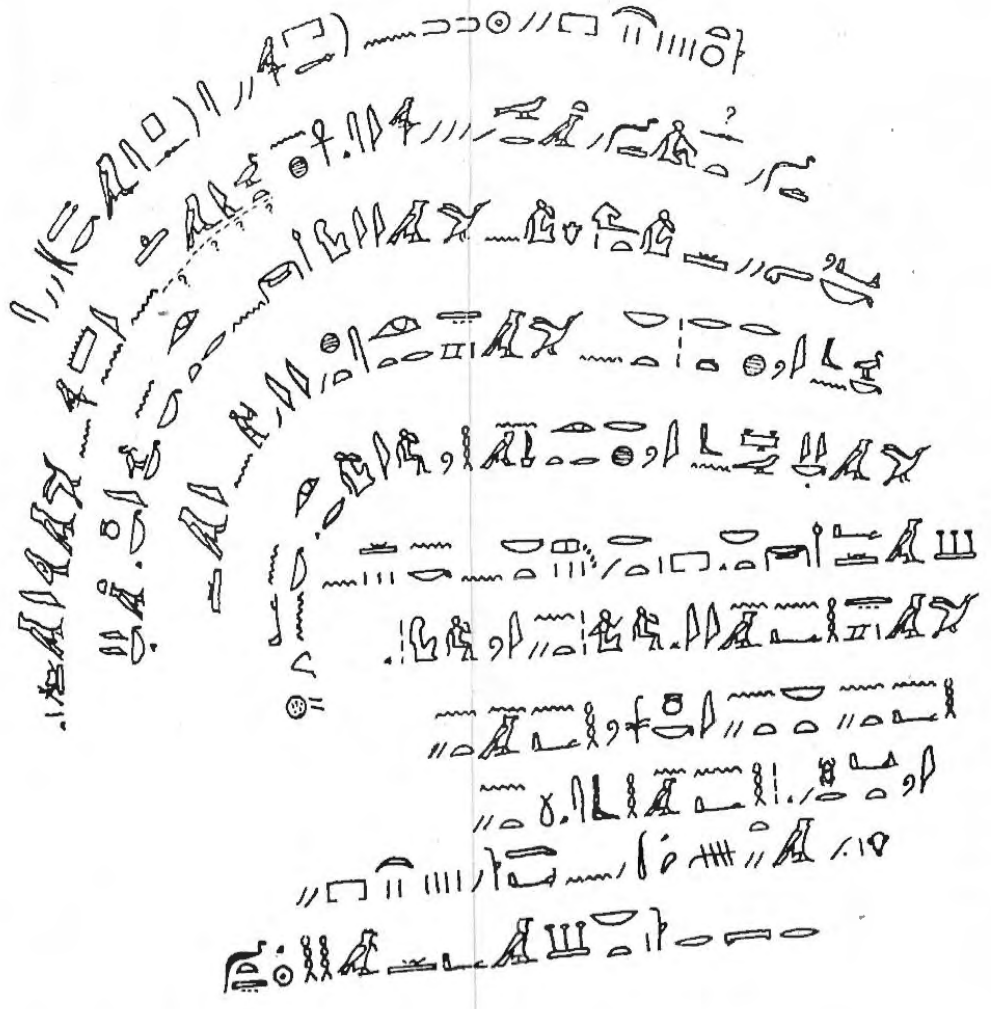
17

18 

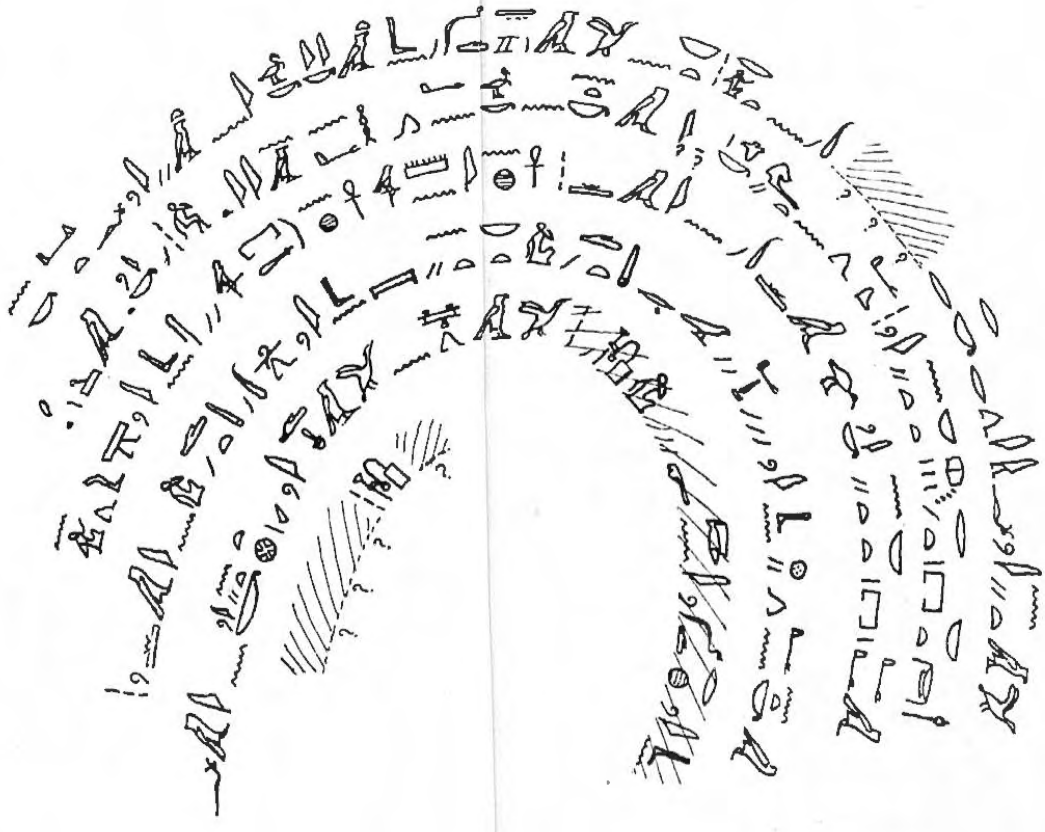
19 

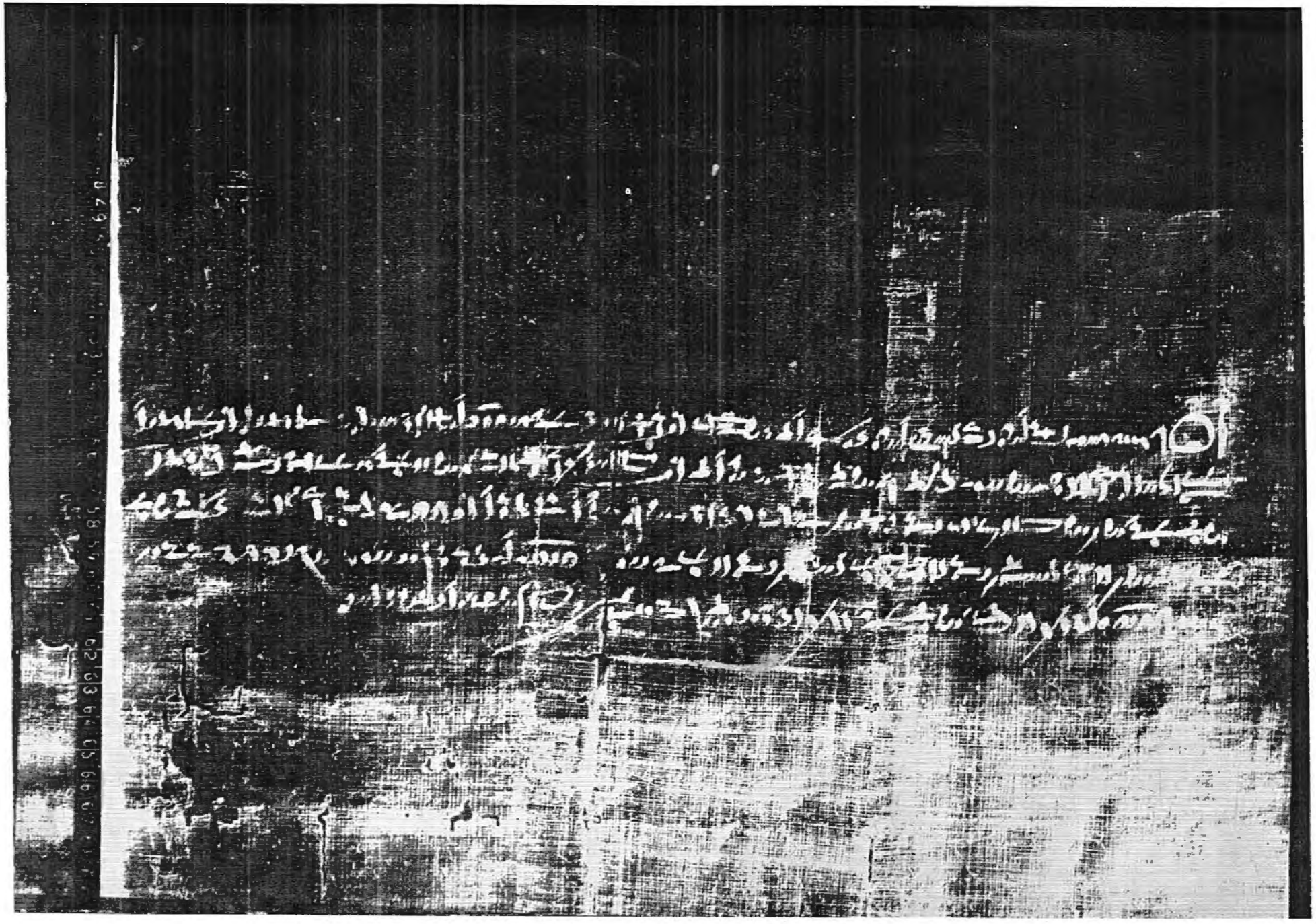
Louvre E. 706 (No. 15 of Griffith's list, Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap., p. 19)

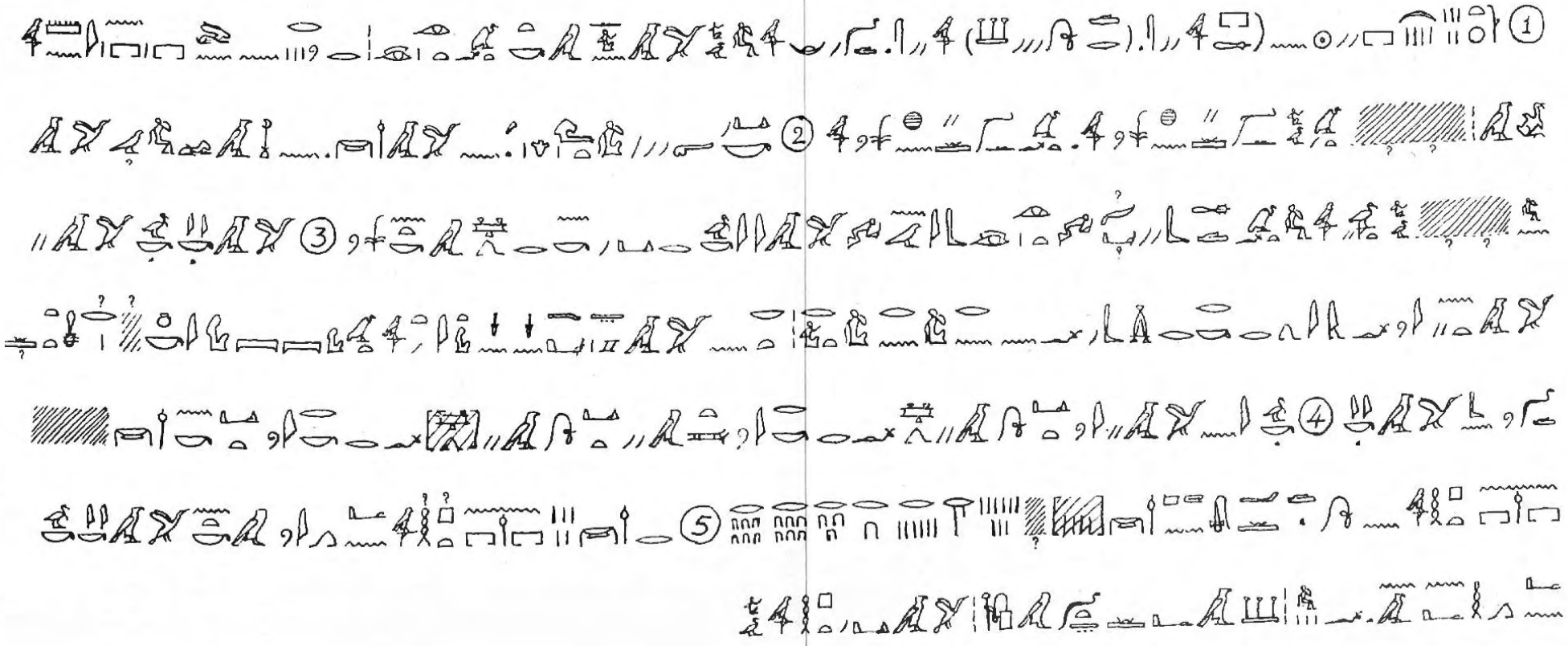
Rt.



Vs.





P. Turin (*Demotic*)

Papyrus Turin (No. 46 of Griffith's list, Cat. Ryl. Dem. Pap., p. 28) — transcribed from a photo